

# America

A CATHOLIC REVIEW OF THE WEEK

VOL. LXXVI, NO. 9  
NOVEMBER 30, 1946



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# A Book for Every Catholic- UNDER THE RED SUN

(A LETTER FROM MANILA) BY FORBES MONAGHAN

Forbes Monaghan, formerly Professor of Philosophy at the now destroyed Ateneo de Manila, is Chairman of the National Educational Congress in Manila. He has *lived* in the Islands for ten years. Gifted with an unusually alert and objective mind, and by nature and training a shrewd analyst of men and affairs, he found himself in a grand stand seat at the making of history. One of the leaders of the new government has said, "*He understands us as few Americans do!*"

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**Red issue at CIO convention** Prior to the CIO Convention at Atlantic City, democratic elements in that organization had asked President Philip Murray to take an uncompromising stand on the issue of communism (AMERICA, November 16). To evaluate the success of their petition, it is necessary to know exactly what it was they wanted. Allowing for minor differences of opinion among the group, the anti-totalitarians demanded: 1) a reform of several key local and State CIO Industrial Councils which had been captured by the Communists; 2) the removal of pro-Communists from key positions in the national CIO bureaucracy; and 3) a ringing declaration on foreign policy which would include support of the Atlantic Charter and condemnation of Soviet imperialism in sundry parts of the world. While there is still some confusion as to just what did happen at Atlantic City, it is certain that the anti-Communists received from President Murray considerably less than they expected. Under his expert guidance the CIO Executive Board tightened its controls over State and local Industrial Councils, the Convention passed a resolution pledging allegiance to the United States and rejecting "efforts of the Communist Party or other political parties and their adherents to interfere in the affairs of the CIO," and another one, on foreign policy, calling for progressive, universal disarmament, adoption of the Baruch plan for control of atomic energy (but with the proviso that the stockpiling of atomic bombs be stopped at once) and the fulfillment "of the basic policy of our late President Roosevelt for friendship and unity among the three great wartime allies." Of Stalin's outrageous violations of Roosevelt's Four Freedoms in Eastern Europe there was no mention at all.

**Peace, it's wonderful!** From the very beginning of the sessions at Atlantic City it was clear that President Philip Murray wanted a "peaceful" convention. Realizing, however, that the communist issue could not be ignored, he sought to settle it in the privacy of hotel rooms and meetings of the Executive Board. In this strategy, which involved the frank use of compromise, he was brilliantly successful. No one, of course, was fooled, and no one was satisfied; but since Mr. Murray's continuation as President of the CIO was judged indispensable by both the pro- and the anti-Communists, they had no recourse except to swallow their disappointment. The peace-at-any-price policy which the head of the CIO elected to follow became obvious on the eve of the Convention when he appointed a committee composed of three pro-Communists (Michael Quill, Ben Gold, Abram Flaxer) and three pro-democrats (Walter Reuther, Milton Murray, Emil Rieve) to write a statement on the communist issue! When this committee, with Mr. Murray's assistance, brought in a unanimous report, only a realization

of the seriousness of the issue kept veteran observers from laughing outright. In Mr. Murray's defense it might be pointed out that, should he intend to proceed gradually, in the quiet manner he likes best, against the totalitarian Fifth Column in the CIO, he has, in the Convention's flat rejection of the Communist Party and the new controls over the Industrial Councils, weapons which can be useful. But in a moment of history when the issue of freedom and slavery, democracy and totalitarianism, has been joined all over the world, the CIO sought refuge in semantics and ended up sitting on the fence. All in all, not a very exhilarating performance.

**Travail in China** On November 19, the Communist General Chou En-lai left Nanking, ending what he called "ten years of negotiating with the Kuomintang." He saw no prospects of the resumption of unity talks and expected the outbreak of full-scale civil war. Chiang Kai-shek had issued a cease-fire order to the government troops and had convened the national Constituent Assembly; the Communists had refused to respect either. Negotiations now seem to have finally broken down, leaving Chiang to proceed as best he may with the Constituent Assembly in face of a threat of civil war. Of the other Chinese parties, the Democratic League is also boycotting the Assembly, while the Young China party seems likely to attend. Undoubtedly the liberals in the Democratic League can find much to criticize in the Kuomintang regime; human nature is the same in Chungking and Washington, and congressional committees have turned up some noisome by-products of our own war effort. (China, it may be remembered, has been at war for some fifteen years.) There are a few points, however, which it will not do to forget. First, that there is a Chinese Government, recognized by all the United Nations, with a permanent seat on the Security Council. Second, that by the Sino-Russian treaty of August 14, 1945 the Russians pledged their support to this Government—a fact one would hardly glean from the Soviet stooge press here and elsewhere. Third, that the Communists, as always, offer cooperation on their own conditions—and for their own ends. (A parallel will be found in Father Parsons' "Notes from Paris" in this issue.) Chiang Kai-shek has offered generous compromises; but he did not become head of the Government in order to preside over the liquidation of China.

**Veto's progress** As a result of a French compromise proposal, the Big Five are trying to solve the veto issue among themselves on the basis of "self-discipline." Just how far this process will get may be judged from the fact that the country which needs self-discipline most is the one that is least disposed to use it. A tip-off is had in the fact that the Soviet Union voted against the French

proposal. As though anticipating failure or stalemate, Australia's Paul Hasluck, inveterate foe of the veto, has reminded the Assembly that nothing the Big Five may do in the way of self-criticism can take away from the United Nations the right to reach its own decisions on the veto's abuse in the Security Council. If the uncompromising attitude assumed from the start by the Soviet delegates really represents an unchanging position and not merely an initial stand preliminary to negotiation, something is going to break in the United Nations. It is safe to say that the "principle of unanimity" as interpreted by Andrei A. Vyshinsky, Soviet Vice-Foreign Minister, does not appeal in the least to the Western world. This interpretation dissolves the differences between "substantive" and "procedural" questions and nullifies the few concessions on the veto made by Stalin at Yalta and later on during the San Francisco Conference. In his own address of November 14, Mr. Hasluck asserted that the position of the Soviet delegate in the Security Council has apparently been that "even if a resolution was procedural in form he could claim to exercise the veto so long as the motives behind the resolution were, in his opinion, substantive." Such a subjective norm for the veto, if really claimed by the USSR, acts to eliminate the Council from the respect of the world. It is a blow to the existence of the Organization itself. The other countries, big or small, will never acquiesce in it.

**The Bilbo inquiry** Said the stranger on the street-corner, as we waited for a cross-town bus, "That's no way to deal with Bilbo." He was referring to a youth noisily attempting to collect signatures from bystanders for a "monster petition" to oust Bilbo, and apparently getting nowhere fast. We agreed with the said stranger that some of the tricks which are inevitably pulled out of a hat when anything like Bilbo happens around are just so much capital for his own supporters; as are the antics of CP front organizations picketing his broadcasts in New York City. But none of these absurdities can prevent the Senator from having a considerably uncomfortable time from his own fellow Mississippians, from whom fifty qualified voters signed sworn statements charging fraud and duress in his campaign. On the other hand, if the hearings of the Senate Campaign Expenditures committee, scheduled for December 2, are to mean anything, some of them should be held in Washington. Senator Ellender may wave aside as mere "sensationalism" the objection that witnesses will not be safe to testify

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AMERICA—a Catholic Review of the week—Edited and Published by the following Jesuit Fathers of the United States:

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in Bilbo's own State. But the record of Bilbo's Klan affiliations and of his type of language is much too disquieting to offer reassurance in this respect. Witnesses at both hearings—that on election methods and the hearing on war contracts before the Senate Investigating Committee—should feel free to testify without the slightest risk of courtesy or intimidation.

**Atheism in the air** Radio Station KQW of San José, California, is currently on the verge of electronic prostration over a confused and shallowly drafted ruling issued by the Federal Communications Commission on August 7, touching the inalienable "right" of a professed atheist to preaching-and-debating time on the air. Station KQW has somewhat drily contended that atheism "does not present a question so uppermost (sic) or important in the minds of the public to justify its broadcast in the public interest." Yet at the same time UNESCO (Russia abstaining) is laying its plans to mobilize the world's media of mass communication as instruments of international understanding and friendship among brothers under God. A trial "sermon" by an atheist on Sunday morning, November 17, devoted largely to the classic horrors of the problem of evil, brought the station an avalanche of "fan mail" in ample confirmation of its predictions on meager radio-audience "interest." The FCC, on the other hand, would seem to have gone far beyond its prerogative as an administrative agency with its complicated legal "opinion" and warning to the effect that the "freedom of belief" guaranteed by our First Constitutional Amendment necessarily carries with it "freedom to disbelieve" in *the existence of God*—a truth explicitly affirmed as a basic American doctrine in the Declaration of Independence. There is a theoretical question of moral right and a practical question of tolerance involved here which the Commission's ruling does little to clarify. We agree with the broadcasting companies that the practical question alone was relevant. Meanwhile the incident should serve to keep Christians realistically alert to the danger of still another poison in the air. It invites us, besides, to be "interested" enough in atheism to arm ourselves at church, school and home with reasons for our belief in an all-loving God, and zealous enough to share our treasure, by prayer, word and work with the atheist—that he may be converted and live.

**Supping with the devil** Some Southern mill-owners, according to Victor Riesel in the *New York Post* on November 15, are stirring up race hatred as part of a campaign against the CIO's unionizing drive in the South. Mr. Riesel's charges receive confirmation from the statement by delegates to the Baptist State Convention of South Carolina on November 18 that certain groups were fostering race tension "to further their economic and political interests." And it will be remembered that a couple of years ago when the War Department decided that the interned Nisei might return to the West Coast, a flurry of organizations sprang up to "defend California from the Japs." These organizations, which sensed a danger that seemed to have escaped the War Department,

were popular among California fruit-growers—though no one, of course, was so crude as to suggest that possible Japanese-American competition had anything to do with their patriotic zeal. All such people, whether in California or the South, had better provide themselves with mighty long spoons; for they are indeed supping with the devil. They are engaged in a particularly diabolical activity—setting man against man for profit, trafficking in human lives. Let them repudiate, in whatever sanctimonious terms they choose, the Ku-Klux Klan, Columbians Inc., and the other noisome “white Gentile” organizations. They are promoting a cause that inevitably draws to it the worst elements in the nation and that in the end will be dominated by those elements. Doubtless there were German businessmen who, while gently deprecating Hitler's methods, were not a little pleased to be freed from Jewish competition.

**The Archbishop's “call”** In a letter to the London *New Statesman and Nation*, for November 9, Michael Derrick quietly takes to pieces the accusation of a “British Liaison Officer” who had written to that periodical attempting to justify the condemnation of Archbishop Stepinatz by the Yugoslav courts. The B.L.O. had “read in the German-controlled press, and had heard over the Zagreb radio, the ‘call’ of Archbishop Stepinatz to his people to rally to the crumbling Croat state and resist the Allied armies which were advancing toward final victory.” Mr. Derrick very pertinently points out that this charge was not made by either the official Yugoslav agency, *Tanyug*, or by the final judgment of the Court. On the contrary, the final judgment accused the Archbishop, far from having asked the Croats to resist the Allied armies, of having sought in the closing weeks of the war the occupation of Yugoslavia by “certain foreign imperialists.” That phrase refers to the Allied armies under the command of Field-Marshal Alexander. No news of the said ‘call’ was obtainable from other sources. This is one more incident emphasizing the crookedness of the Tito-dominated proceedings. It also adds confirmation to the demand made by the Committee on Human Rights of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, in New York City, that the United Nations should conduct an investigation of the treatment afforded to Archbishop Stepinatz, to which are joined protests from Protestant groups in addition to the numberless Catholic organizations.

**Price policies** Two weeks ago “the world's largest retailer of men's hats” (that is what the advertisement said) announced in full-page spreads that it was forthwith cutting the price on its fancier products from \$10, \$12 and \$15 to a flat \$8.45. In dashing prose the company said that this was its way of helping you “lower your cost of living by reducing the price of your hat,” which was, of course, mighty fine of the company. In these days of soaring prices, the gesture naturally made news, and reporters lost no time in descending on the head of the firm for further details. Said that prominent merchandiser:

The public has become highly price-minded within recent weeks and we will endeavor to the best of our ability to continue to meet its ideas. All levels of trade concerned must cooperate to bring down costs. This move is the initial one in the industry aimed to restore “realistic” prices in the men's hat field.

The consuming public, he explained, which is the actual dictator of price policies, was just not buying expensive hats. “We simply have faced the situation in a business-like manner,” he observed, “and are adjusting ourselves to the changing times when the public is not spending money blindly.” Exactly what this statement means we are not sure, but on the face of it some sections of American business have seemingly not been setting “realistic” prices. They have been charging too much, taking, as it were, all that the traffic would bear; gouging the dear old public. Now that the public is catching on and is refusing to spend money blindly, these enterprisers are reducing prices to “realistic” levels, i.e. prices which the buyer will pay and which will still mean a profit to the seller. Perhaps some more benevolent interpretation can be placed on the statement. If so, we shall be happy to hear of it. Meanwhile the old chapeau will do for a while yet. Who knows, prices may become more “realistic” still.

**Pope and the land** Concern for the future of the small landholder characterized the Holy Father's address to 2,000 Italian farmers whom he received in audience on November 15. The tenant and share-cropping farmers of Italy have recently shown a tendency to heed the promises of the Communists, who propose immediate breaking up of large landed estates, just as they have done in other European countries. The ultimate consequences of undue haste in subdivision are, as often as not, overlooked by the peasants. These think rather of the fundamental justice of government action in preventing land monopoly and the holding of uncultivated acreages at a time when food production is a vital issue. In counseling caution the Holy Father by no means denied the existence of a land problem in Italy. He merely advised against “sudden, improvised reforms” which have behind them “useless, dangerous demagoguery.” With the Pope, every reasoning person will agree that collectivization, state ownership of all land and the end of private enterprise in farming are not satisfactory solutions for land concentration and exploitation of share-croppers. To resort to them is to exchange one form of monopoly for another. What we need, the Pope pointed out, is cultivation of the land by well-instructed, properly-equipped family farmers. Such have a personal interest in their own acreage, on which they can lead productive and religious lives. Land monopoly and exploitation are intolerable abuses; but let us be cautious as to what we put in their place.

**Mexico's estates** A fairly gloomy picture of agricultural conditions in Mexico is painted by Virginia Lee Warren, correspondent of the *New York Times*, writing from Mexico City, November 19. Apparently the simple process of distributing the large estates on a communal basis, or the *ejido* system, is not working out as the ideal

solution. Further distribution of the land is necessary, according to government authorities, in order to relieve the restlessness of the peasants. But there are only 7,500,000 acres left for the 1,000,000 peasants who are clamoring for them; and the sons of existing *ejidatarios*, or communal holders, are awaiting some place to live. Individual holdings are not enough to keep a family from starvation. At the same time, Mexico's population is rapidly growing, at the rate of 600,000 a year. Land reformers in Mexico might profitably study the conclusions worked out as the result of the recent "Week of Social Action of Brazil," at São Paulo, in that country. While recommending the breaking-up of large and neglected estates, it suggested the sharing of profits from estates whose preservation was economically desirable. At the same time, a thorough, all-round economic, social and religious program, including that of the restoration of the rural parish unit, is outlined as essential for the operation of a small-farm economy. The functions, incidentally, of the country priest are precisely defined, as adviser, as stimulator, but not as actual director of cooperatives and other such undertakings.

**Don't misread Wisconsin bus defeat** The defeat of the Wisconsin amendment, which would have opened school-bus transportation to children attending private and parochial schools, may be built up to an utterly false conclusion. It may be thought, for instance, that the people of Wisconsin voted down the proposal to let parochial-school children ride on public school buses. True enough, that was the original proposal. But before the day came for voting the people had been distracted almost completely from that clear proposal by a stratagem of the Protestant churches. The real and really horrendous issue, the Protestants claimed, was whether Wisconsin was to sanction union of Church and State. Were the people willing to sit idly by and let the Catholic Church drive a wedge into the principle of separation of Church and State? The propaganda campaign to substitute this specious issue for the real proposal was carried on with a fury that reminded one, at times, of the APA days. And it was a successful campaign. Two facts stand out as clear as crystal: 1) the people of Wisconsin did not reject the proposal to grant bus transportation to private and parochial school children; they didn't even vote on that proposal; 2) there is crying need to educate our American people, including our Catholic people, on what separation of Church and State does not mean and what it does mean.

**College standards** It isn't only the presence of well over a million veterans on college campuses that raises the question of college standards. The question has been with us ever since the mass education movement got under way after the First World War. Some of the colleges answered it by dividing students into two groups, with different curricula and different standards. Thus honors courses came into prominence. But they did not become prominent enough to affect the country as a whole. And so as a whole our educational standard has gone no

higher than mediocrity. It may go even lower by reason of the accentuated mass education of veterans today, accompanied as it is by overcrowded classrooms, abnormal teaching loads and an insufficiency of textbooks and other teaching materials. There is no single or simple answer to the problem of maintaining aristocratic standards (in the intellectual sense) in a democratic or mass system of education. A conviction that is fundamental for educators to grasp is that mediocrity is not and must not be the price we have to pay for the democratic ideal. Just as necessary is the realization that not all young people, even those who have a high-school diploma, are fit for a college education. Perhaps what would help to give strength to these two principles would be, first, a much more rigid and consistent policy of excluding the unfit on the threshold; second, adequate machinery and financial resources for searching out those who are fit for college education, but lack the means to enjoy its advantages. Thus, at least, would be eliminated the situation which too commonly exists today, namely, that our vaunted democracy of education is in reality an aristocracy in the worst sense of the word, a social aristocracy, favoring those who can pay rather than those who are fit and want an education.

**Honor where honor is due** Dr. Carlton J. H. Hayes is no stranger to honors. In his long life of scholarship and of teaching, academic honors have come to him from many sources—honorary degrees from Notre Dame, Marquette, Niagara, Williams; the presidency of the American Catholic Historical Association and of the American Historical Association; the national co-chairmanship, 1926-1945, of the National Conference of Christians and Jews; the Seth Low professorship of history at Columbia. On Sunday, November 17, Fordham added its homage, at the close of its Charter centennial observance, by conferring on him the degree of Doctor of Laws, *honoris causa*. And two days later he became the 64th recipient of Notre Dame's Laetare Medal. The citation said that Dr. Hayes was honored for fulfilling the most delicate and the most momentous diplomatic mission of the war, and for writing and speaking fearlessly in defense of truth in seeking to persuade his fellow Americans to practise tolerance and goodwill. Honors so well deserved honor the givers no less than the recipient.

**Protestants in Spain** In an interview granted to the NCWC *News Service* November 18 by the Most Rev. Maximo Yurramendi, Bishop of Ciudad-Rodrigo, the bishop said the study of religion is compulsory in all universities. But there is no compulsory worship. Last year a non-Catholic received first prize in religion at the University of Madrid. At the University of Barcelona, a special examination in the Lutheran religion for three Lutherans of English parentage was prepared by the bishop. Two of them won first prizes, since they had better marks in their field than any Catholic in his own. Somehow this does not look to us like intolerance. Would Catholics receive comparable treatment in, for instance, a university in Sweden?

## Washington Front

In the next fortnight will come the fifth anniversary of the Pearl Harbor attack which revealed an appalling lack of unity among U.S. military forces guarding that vital Pacific base. It should be a good time for Americans to realize that little fundamental or permanent has been done to repair the structural defects which contributed to the terrific losses suffered that day in men and ships.

During the war there was set up the Joint Chiefs of Staff organization, which provided over-all strategic planning under the President for Army, Navy and Air Forces. There was operational unity in the war theaters. Joint committees aided procurement and organization in Washington. In many cases such coordination worked excellently; in some it did not. Today the Army and Navy departments are connected by committees which, in the words of Secretary of War Patterson, "argue and argue but do not decide."

At a moment when peacetime national government costs are at an all-time peak and when most people agree that maintenance of large defense establishments is necessary, there remain expensive duplications of services.

Mr. Patterson recently estimated that if combined Army-Navy tonnage could have been handled under one service at U.S. ports during the war, \$80 million in labor

costs could have been saved. He recalled that evacuation of wounded men to hospitals was delayed because they were "sorted out according to the uniform" they were wearing. In recent months there have been reports of new Army building planned on some Pacific islands already jammed with naval construction. Although Army and Navy are jointly responsible for defense, representatives of the services have gone to Congress to get huge program authorizations without consulting each other.

President Truman sought last year to get a single department of national defense in which rivalries and jealousies would be washed out at least in part, and in which Army, Navy and Air forces would be co-equal and coordinate. Army and Air Forces favored unification, but the Navy fought it bitterly. The congressional naval pooh-bahs, Senator Walsh of Massachusetts and Representative Vinson of Georgia, were unfriendly. So were many Naval Affairs committeemen in both Houses—and it often has been observed that, on both Army and Navy sides, exposure to the brass and pomp in Washington seems to make some Congressmen ready converts to partisan military thinking.

Thus, a Democratic Congress stymied a reform favored by a vast weight of evidence built on experience in the most devastating war in history—though, when the war was still on, even some of the Navy's top field commanders seemed to favor unification. The Republicans have an opportunity to show real leadership on this issue when they take over Congress in January. CHARLES LUCEY

## Underscorings

At the annual meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States, held recently in Washington and attended by 124 members of the Hierarchy, Archbishop John T. McNicholas, O.P., of Cincinnati, was elected chairman of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference. Serving with him will be Archbishops Murray of St. Paul (Vice Chairman), Rummel of New Orleans, Mitty of San Francisco, Ryan of Omaha, Cushing of Boston, Lucey of San Antonio, and Bishops Gannon of Erie, Pa., Ready of Columbus and Alter of Toledo. By amending its by-laws, the NCWC invited the American Cardinals to attend all meetings of the Administrative Board, to participate in its deliberations and to serve on special committees when desirable.

► December Catholic conventions: 27-28, American Catholic Philosophical Association, Toronto, Canada; 27-28, American Catholic Sociological Society, Hotel Continental, Chicago; 27-30, American Catholic Historical Association, New York.

► The Catholic Conference on Industrial Problems, which has already held sessions this fall at Hartford, Conn., and Portland, Oregon, will be in Columbus, Ohio, on December 9 and 10. Other centers which will sponsor

industrial conferences this year are Sacramento, Cal., Rochester, N. Y. and Manchester, N. H. Dr. George F. Donovan, president of Webster College, St. Louis, is head of the conference.

► With the resignation of Archbishop Francis J. L. Beckman of Dubuque, for reasons of health, Coadjutor Archbishop Henry P. Rohlman, appointed coadjutor with the right of succession in 1944, succeeds to the archbishopric. He will have as auxiliary the Most Rev. Edward A. Fitzgerald, who was consecrated on September 12. . . . Most Rev. George J. Donnelly, Auxiliary Bishop of St. Louis since 1940, has been named the new Bishop of Leavenworth, Kansas, in succession to Archbishop Paul C. Schulte, who was transferred to Indianapolis.

► Two more issues of *Today*, the twice-monthly publication of CISCA (638 Deming Place, Chicago 14), have arrived. They strengthen our original feeling of gratification over a fine venture that is modern and stream-lined, forthrightly Catholic in tone, capably written and a stimulus to Catholic writers and readers. Incidentally the editorial series ("Religious Immaturity" and "Being a Catholic") deserves a high rating.

► Msgr. John J. McLaugherty, executive secretary of the Legion of Decency, reports within the past year an increase in motion pictures rated unobjectionable for general patronage, a decrease in those rated unobjectionable for adults and a large increase in those rated objectionable in part.

A. P. F.

# Editorials

## *Mr. Lewis against the country*

Over developments in the coal situation, which culminated in an injunction restraining John L. Lewis from terminating the contract he signed with the Government on May 29, we can only express our bewilderment and concern.

Why Mr. Lewis, who is reputed to be a very shrewd customer, chose to precipitate a struggle of this magnitude we are at a loss to explain. When he first demanded more than a month ago that the Government re-open the contract, it was variously charged that he was attempting to embarrass the Administration on the eve of elections, that he was trying to beat the CIO to a second round of postwar wage hikes, that he was drunk with power and aiming at unquestioned leadership of the American labor movement, that he was trying to advance the welfare of the coal miners and was moving quickly to avoid obstacles which the new Congress might place in his way.

Even if all these motives are taken together, they scarcely justify the grave risk of challenging the Government of the United States. Mr. Lewis had, it is true, the memory of past successes. But he had also plenty of evidence that the public had lost patience with strikes and was ready to cheer the first Government official who would step up and slap some labor leader down. And he should have known that the mild-mannered man in the White House could be pushed just so far and no farther.

Unless there is some sudden change of heart in Washington, it seems very probable, then, that before this historic struggle is over Mr. Lewis' reputation for shrewdness may be badly tarnished. In itself, this would not be a very great loss. But it is quite possible that the President in deflating Mr. Lewis may deflate the whole labor movement along with him; and that would be a very serious loss, especially to the working people of the country. Once before, Mr. Lewis' inability to control his ambition and to subordinate the interests of his group to the general welfare led the Congress to pass restrictive labor legislation. A similar result may now be expected. Only this time the Congress is likely to write a much more stringent bill than the Smith-Connally Act.

But our perplexity over Mr. Lewis' poor judgment in challenging the Government is exceeded by our concern over the justice of his position.

From all that the public has been able to learn, the dispute between the Government and Mr. Lewis consists in a conflicting interpretation of the contract signed on May 29. Secretary of the Interior Krug, who represented the Government on that occasion, affirms that the agreement remains in force for the duration of Government possession of the mines. This Mr. Lewis denies.

Mr. Krug takes his stand on the opening statement of

the contract, which reads: "This agreement . . . covers for the period of Government possession the terms and conditions of employment in respect to all mines in Government possession . . ." That seems clear enough, and there can be no doubt that Mr. Krug left the negotiations convinced that the contract was effective for the duration of Government control.

Mr. Lewis argues that the Krug-Lewis agreement incorporated terms and conditions of past agreements, and that among these terms and conditions was the right to reopen the contract upon the giving of a ten-days' notice.

While from a legalistic viewpoint there may be some merit in this argument, it hardly justifies the drastic course of action Mr. Lewis elected.

Furthermore, before seeking an injunction, the Government asked Mr. Lewis to refrain from striking for sixty days and to employ the time in negotiating a contract with the operators. This offer of a truce, which in view of the public need appears most reasonable, was contemptuously rejected.

Under the circumstances we do not see how Mr. Lewis is morally justified in resorting to the strike weapon. Conversely, the Government has the right and duty to take whatever legitimate means are necessary to break the strike.

## *Nine scientists, six truths*

Of those who are alarmed at the possibilities of the atomic bomb, none are more alarmed than the scientists who made it. They know the bomb. They know its destructiveness. They know the invisible but inevitable radioactive death that lurks wherever the bomb's fiery breath has blown. They know in how many ways the peaceful processes of atomic fission can be diverted to warlike purposes.

But their chief cause for alarm is not the power locked up in the atom. It is the attitude of world statesmen who go on talking as if the discoveries of atomic science were an old-wives' tale; who do not seem to understand that the atom bomb has revealed the hopeless impracticality of their "practical" politics; who act as if "sovereignty" were a magic word which could conjure atomic warfare out of existence.

The scientists know—as every man of sense knows—that atomic warfare cannot be conjured out of existence. It can be abolished only by the firm determination and will of the peoples of the world—a determination so strong and manifest that the statesmen cannot ignore it. To arouse that will, by showing the world what the implications of atomic energy really are, is the task the scientists have set before them.

The Federation of Atomic scientists was formed not long after the end of the war. Out of it grew the National

Committee on Atomic Information. Faced with an enormous and urgent job of popular education, the NCAI operates on about \$50,000. You might run a second-rate football squad on that. Hence the formation of the Emergency Committee of Atomic Scientists, a committee of nine, headed by Albert Einstein. It hopes to raise a million dollars to enable the NCAI and other interested groups to bring these six truths home to the American people:

1. Atomic bombs can now be made cheaply and in large number. They will become more destructive.
2. There is no military defense against atomic bombs and none is to be expected.
3. Other nations can rediscover our secret processes by themselves.
4. Preparedness against atomic warfare is futile and, if attempted, would ruin the structure of our social order.
5. If war breaks out, atomic bombs will be used, and they will surely destroy our civilization.
6. There is no solution to this problem except international control of atomic energy and, ultimately, the elimination of war.

That is the catechism for our survival in the atomic age.

## **Right of asylum**

For centuries the right of sanctuary has been taken for granted by civilized nations. The Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference pointedly calls attention to that fact in its masterful statement on "Man and the Peace," recently issued in the name of the Bishops. The right is very much in accord with Christian principles, for it presupposes that human governments are fallible and as such can be guilty of political or religious persecution, even at times without fully recognizing their fault. The law of sanctuary—juridical positivists would scarcely accept it as such—takes cognizance of the subjection of civil governments to a higher law. This higher law forbids them to create crimes where none exist or to wield authority in a manner disapproved by the conscience of mankind. In short, sanctuary is sought and granted because we know that a man has personal rights which the state does not give and which it cannot take away.

Today there is danger that the concept of sanctuary will be lost; swallowed up in the more dominant idea of governmental authority or popular determination. The threat comes not alone from governments whose persecutions create refugees but also from states which think it perfectly justifiable to erect arbitrary and unnecessary barriers against persecution's victims. If we cannot defend authoritarians who propose that the governments fled from should set the terms of protection, neither can we excuse nationalists who hide behind immigration laws and restrictive quotas when seeking reasons to exclude the suffering stranger.

That persecution ordinarily stems from totalitarian regimes, whereas immigration quotas are the fruit of popular elections, makes no difference. Even a democratic nation, if it does not seriously consider Christian principles, can legislate itself into a totalitarian position

on the subject of receiving refugees or admitting immigrants. That is happening today before our eyes. Even while the Western nations publicly deplore the ruthlessness which makes refugees of a million Eastern Europeans, they keep their own doors barred to any unwanted newcomers. Should it be hinted that there is a mite of hypocrisy in such a position, they are sure to call attention to the rigidity of modern legislation on immigration and temporary residence.

For a long time now the nationalist states of Europe have not hesitated to drive from their borders or to persecute and liquidate unwanted minority groups. Almost invariably such steps are clothed in the magic mantle of legality. The Jews are among the oldest victims of such persecution, but they are by no means the only ones. Political and religious refugees, together with those considered undesirable for ethnic reasons, have played hide-and-seek with immigration officers for years.

In recent decades the number of such refugees has increased alarmingly. Nationalism and the belief that the ethical or mystical state could do no wrong made it that way. Tragically, even countries boasting of their Catholicism have allowed themselves to imagine that race, and the state which is thought to personify it, are sufficient reasons for contemning human rights of their fellow men. We are prone, in our smugness, to lay all the blame on Nazi Germany, and more recently on Soviet Russia, for creating the present refugee problem. More profitably we might examine the other side of this very disagreeable picture and see how interested we were in helping the afflicted or to what extent we permitted persecution to go on within our borders.

While Russia and Germany had their NKVD and SS men rounding up undesirables, other countries were enacting, or efficiently enforcing, restrictive laws which at times prevented even the transit of hapless people. And for such laws there was no lack of popular support. Few countries were, or are, without their professed bigots, their hate-groups, their noisy propagandists of rugged nationalism. Even mild-tempered members of the population have not wholly avoided the error of mistaking legality or popular will for objective morality. In these latter years of nationalism, racism and state worship, the existence of growing numbers of refugees is inevitable. Far too few moderns have thought straight and clearly on the relation of the human person to society and the body politic.

The Bishops call attention to these basic rights we must defend. They do more, and remind us of the higher unity made possible through the redemptive blood of Christ:

We know that in His sacred blood all men are called to be brothers. We are our brothers' keepers. It is not possible for us to be complacent and inactive while any of our brothers in the human family groan under tyranny and are denied the free exercise of their human rights.

The works of mercy, and of charity and justice, should be fruits of Christian faith. Now is the time to prove that we love not in words only, but in deed and truth.

## Relief after UNRRA

With characteristic vigor Mr. LaGuardia presented his plea for a United Nations Emergency Food Fund to continue relief when UNRRA leaves off on December 31. As Director General of UNRRA he knows the tragic need for food in those countries not sufficiently reconstructed to produce or purchase their own. Understandably, he petitioned the General Assembly for a \$400,000,000 food-relief fund to be administered impartially by members chosen from among the nations participating. Mr. LaGuardia makes the telling point that such a sum would be as nothing compared with the eventual cost to all of us if present chaotic conditions endure much longer. With the need for relief and with the very modest sum requested few will quarrel.

Some proponents of the LaGuardia plan, however, have given the impression that the sole choice is between the Emergency Food Fund and starvation for the world's hungry. Such is not the case. Americans do not intend to leave large portions of the world to starve, even if at the moment they fail to see the international food fund as the sole way of keeping the world fed. There will be relief, even with a Congress bent on saving money. But Americans have to bear half the burden under the food-fund plan and bore even more under UNRRA. They want to have something to say about the distribution of the assistance they offer.

There are certain realities of the present situation which should be borne in mind. First is that Russia gave little help to the existing food-relief agency, UNRRA. While this was partly understandable in view of her own shortages, we cannot justify her slowness to give facts and figures, to pool what relief she offered, to desist from diverting relief for political uses. Second, it should be remembered that Russia has given no serious indication of cooperating in world economic reconstruction. She abstained from the Food and Agricultural Organization and would not further its plans. She gives no promise of supporting the International Trade Organization, now in the preparatory stage. The International Refugee Organization, whose draft constitution went as far as it could to please her without altogether denying human rights, meets only with her dissatisfaction. Now Russia wants a World Food Fund, administered internationally, at a time when her satellites are the nations needing relief. Small wonder that many are cautious. International agencies are good, and highly desirable in themselves, but they should be truly international and not open to political use by those with ideological ends to serve.

If an international Emergency Food Fund becomes a reality, it is our duty to see that it is not made the toy of power politics by the Soviet Union. If our State Department has its way and relief is on a direct nation-to-nation basis, we must keep our charity above power politics. Perhaps in the long run it will prove more charitable to the peoples concerned to insist that satellite governments do not use our food relief to make their own position more secure. That possibility should be borne in mind. But in any case Americans must be prepared to

give. Economy on needed relief is poor charity and worse politics, whereas money well spent will promote the kind of stable order we long for. Heeding Christ's admonition to feed the hungry, we will obtain reward for our sacrifice. But that need not mean we cannot insist on conditions which make for greater peace and order.

## The hope of UNESCO

When Premier-President Georges Bidault opened the sessions of UNESCO in Paris on November 19, it may be that he was inaugurating one of the most important and effective units of the United Nations. UNESCO's ideal is nothing less than the establishing of a community of the human mind, the establishing of peace "upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind." "Since wars begin in the minds of men," says its constitution, "it is in the minds of men that the defenses of peace must be constructed." Parliaments of the nations have been convoked before to discuss and compose differing political and economic viewpoints and systems, but up to now history has not known a world parliament dedicated "to develop and to increase the means of communication between peoples and to employ these means for the purposes of mutual understanding and a truer and more perfect knowledge of each other's lives."

Yes, "history may be about to teach us that the Parliament of Mankind can only be attained through the Republic of Letters."

But we must not expect too much too soon. There is the machinery of organization to set in motion, and the coherence of ideas and ideals to test in preliminary debate. At this juncture the U. S. delegation may propose some of its grandiose (bigger and therefore better?) schemes for peace through communication: a mass international exchange of teachers, technologists and artists; a world-wide library exchange system; a world-wide radio network; world-wide freedom of the press and abolition of censorship; world textbooks which would present "the final common denominator of truth in history."

None of these schemes can be "world-wide" so long as Soviet Russia abstains from participation in UNESCO in order to see "how the organization shapes up." Yet her absence (as one of the Big Powers) may be a blessing unbeknown; for it may lessen the possibility of a Big Three argument over every problem and plan proposed for UNESCO action. The majority role of the "little" nations, at any rate, becomes more real, and it may enable them to keep the decisions of debate not only from tackling mainly big-nation projects but also from reflecting political expediency instead of the sound principles of philosophy and religion needed for establishing peace "upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."

We see UNESCO, as does Alexander Meikeljohn, as an agency of study and of teaching rather than of external action. "Its aim is the development of that international intelligence upon which the success of any United Nations activity depends." If it keeps this ideal constantly before it, it will have its best chance of success.

# Facts and fiction in German policies

Friedrich Baerwald

*One of the dangers of the present American plan is that it will not lead to a solution of all the German question but merely half of it. But in this case half a solution is worse than no solution at all." Friedrich Baerwald is Professor of Economics in the Graduate School at Fordham.*

The greatest crisis in the hitherto discouraging attempt of this generation to reestablish peace will come early next year if not sooner. It will occur when the German settlement is placed at the top of the agenda in one of the forthcoming meetings of the Foreign Ministers of the "Big Four." Should a stalemate on the final peace treaties with the satellite nations forestall a discussion of Germany, the crisis would be even graver. The actualities of the German problem exist. They will assert themselves whether or not contemporary diplomacy is capable of facing them. Compared with the complexity and the explosive character of the German question, the issues which caused so much heated discussion in Paris during the strangest and most disturbing "peace conference" of modern times will fade into comparative insignificance. In Germany, West and East are facing each other on a broad front, militarily, politically and economically. Their other point of contact in Europe, the Trieste area, constitutes only a secondary theatre in this fundamental struggle.

Just how well-prepared is the western world as it faces this crisis? Has it located all the danger points and has it mastered preventive techniques to forestall the planting of political delayed-action bombs in the heart of Europe?

In his speech delivered in Stuttgart on September 6 of this year, Secretary Byrnes made this all-important statement: "It is not in the interest of the German people or in the interest of world peace that Germany should become a pawn or a partner in a military struggle for power between the East and the West."

Now in order to reach this splendid objective of American policy, about which there is the widest possible agreement in this country, it is necessary to restore the rule of economic and political reason in Germany. Unfortunately the demise of the nazi system and its replacement by the policy of Potsdam have not yet brought about the prerequisites for a reconstruction of a Germany strong enough to prevent the division that Mr. Byrnes desires to avoid.

With this aim in mind it becomes all the more important to examine the policies recently formulated by spokesmen of the United States Government. Just because we approve so fully of the objectives of this foreign policy, it is necessary to stress the fact that the practical suggestions now advanced for the economic and political reconstruction of Germany are still based in part on fictions rather than on the realities of the situation. American policies, however, cannot become fully effective, especially in competition with Russian activities in Germany, unless we discard once and for all the preconceived notions which were allowed to infiltrate in the earlier phases of the American occupation.

Let us first summarize the new economic and political plan outlined by Secretary Byrnes. On the economic plane it calls for unification of such services as transportation, communication, finance, agriculture, industry and foreign trade. On the political level an American design for a new German federalism is now proposed by the Secretary of State. It provides for "political decentralization" through the establishment of "states" such as exist already in all of the American zone and in parts of the French and Russian zones, though not in the British districts. These states, through their presidents, are to form a "German National Council." This body shall supervise the central economic agencies referred to above. In addition it shall draft a constitution which is to be submitted to an elected constitutional convention and is ultimately to be ratified by the German people.

Thus the American plan provides for a large measure of economic unification of Germany while at the same time promoting a strong federalism. In fact the American military government has been so eager to consolidate the German states which are its creations that already committees in these states have drafted constitutions, which are now approved and await acceptance by the electorate.

Now it should be apparent at first sight that there is a contradiction between the economic and political policies suggested for Germany by Secretary Byrnes. Responsible experts in this country seem still to cling to the belief that economic coordination of the four zones can be reconciled with the type of political decentralization now proceeding in Germany. It is quite true, as Secretary Byrnes points out, that the Potsdam agreements were based upon "the assumption that the indigenous resources of Germany were to be available for distribution on an equitable basis for all of the Germans in Germany and that products not necessary for use in Germany would be available for export in order to pay for necessary imports."

But the cause of the economic impasse is the fantastic assumption that such a plan could work while "political decentralization" was being emphasized under the auspices of two power blocs working at cross purposes ideologically and otherwise. Supposing that the "German National Council," acting as some sort of ambassadors' conference, were set up in the near future to operate the central economic coordinating agencies, are we entitled to hope that such a body would be able to agree on the distribution of the exceedingly scarce resources among the several states? The level of living in all German zones has reached rock bottom. Can we expect under such circumstances that delegates of predominantly agricultural states will consent voluntarily to send some supplies to industrial states if their own population, although slightly better off, is suffering from severe malnutrition? To

assume that such a scheme would work is to discard all teachings of political experience.

The economic coordination of the four German zones is feasible only if there is a German government deriving its authority from the German people. Only such a government would have the moral authority to enforce an equitable distribution of resources in all of the four zones and to initiate economic reconstruction within the only framework adequate to the scope of the problem, that is to say, on a national scale.

The American emphasis on political decentralization seems to be based on the erroneous assumption that it was German centralism as such that has caused wars in the past, and that decentralization is therefore the best guarantee of peace.

Before examining this fiction in some detail, let me state that no one in Germany is opposed to a federal structure and to decentralization, especially so far as cultural affairs and local self-government are concerned. The economic requirements of our time, however, demand an effective federal government in Germany just as much as they do in this country. Such a government, in order to function efficiently, must have its own political roots in the German people. It must be more than a technical coordinating agency. If its reestablishment is postponed too long the resulting damage would be irreparable. Of course Mr. Molotov in his speech on Germany opposed a German government now. But this is no reason why we should not insist on its early organization. Unfortunately what Mr. Byrnes is proposing is not a sufficiently strong check to the Russian plan of achieving ultimate domination over the whole of Germany and thereby of Europe. It is high time, therefore, that we rid ourselves of some subtly promoted myths concerning the benefits of political decentralization in Germany.

It is simply not true that German federalism as it existed for so many hundred years has in itself ever contributed to European or world peace. On the contrary, the political "decentralization" of the German Reich which set in during the Middle Ages has in itself often been the cause of wars. The Thirty Years' War started as an ideological war between two groups of German states. When the Emperor seemed to be winning that war, thereby creating the opportunity to form a modern national state in Germany and to re-establish the predominance of Catholics, the French-Swedish coalition supporting the Protestants saw to it that this should not happen. The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 confirmed German political decentralization. As a result, for two hundred years German states lined up against each other in many major international conflicts. In the War of the Spanish Succession Bavaria fought with France against Austria, while the Elector of Brandenburg supported the German Emperor only on condition that he be elevated to the rank of King in Prussia. The Seven Years' War, which assumed world proportions and was fought in Europe, North America and India, started as a conflict between two German states, Prussia and Austria, in which the world Powers became inexorably involved. During the Napoleonic period German states also were lined up against

each other. When Napoleon assembled his Grand Army against Russia it consisted, in a considerable proportion, of German troops. It is worth while remembering that when the campaign against Russia failed, one German state after another, beginning with Prussia, switched sides, the last one to do so being Bavaria. The campaign against Russia, which in 1812 saw all German states with the exception of Austria fighting with Napoleon against Russia, ended with all German states, including Austria, lined up with Russia against Bonaparte. In the light of this historical record it is hard to explain how anyone can assert that political decentralization in Germany has ever made a contribution to world peace, when in fact it has frequently led to a lining-up of several German states on different sides of the world Powers' struggles for political hegemony.

The story of Napoleon's ill-fated war against Russia shows conclusively that the then existing political decentralization of Germany did not bring about the elimination of that country from "a military struggle for power between the East and the West." While history does not necessarily repeat itself, Germany's past should make us rather hesitant before we commit ourselves to an extreme measure of political decentralization for that country.



Nor can such a policy be advocated on the ground that this is the only way to "educate" Germans to democracy. Everybody familiar with the history of German states knows that even in the shape which they had in this century they were the result of purely accidental dynastic developments. German states since the end of the Middle Ages have never had any reference to the underlying tribal structure of the German people, which is still clearly recognizable today. They were formed, divided or swallowed up either for purely dynastic reasons, such as inheritance or marriage, or in the course of larger political realignments. The desires of the populations involved were never taken into consideration.

In the early nineteenth century these dynastic interests resisted the democratic development of the German people. They sensed that democracy in Germany would bring about a much greater degree of political unity and threaten the "sovereignty" of such absurd states as the principalities of Reuss, "senior and junior line," and other midget realms. Our recent "historical researches" on Germany have spread the entirely erroneous impression that Prussia was the sole seat of political reaction in Germany, whereas the other states were idly democratic until they fell under the bad influence of Berlin. Nobody will deny that especially toward the end of the nineteenth century such German states as Baden and Wuerttemberg, at present completely disorganized by a nonsensical demarcation line between the American and French zones, were more democratic than the Prussian state of the same period. But at the height of "political decentralization" in Germany, prior to the reestablishment of a German federal government, certain non-Prussian states had the

worst type of despotic regimes. The rulers of Hesse Kassel in the nineteenth century were no better than their predecessor in the eighteenth who pressed his subjects into service to fight the American revolution. The famous case of the firing of seven professors of the University of Goettingen because they protested against the repudiation by the king of the already existing constitution occurred not in Prussia but in Hanover.

The German democratic movements developed on a nation-wide scale and found their climax in the constitutional convention of 1848. This first nationwide attempt to create a German democracy failed because the German state governments regained their self-confidence after strongly reactionary forces asserted themselves in France in the summer of 1848, preparing the way for the return of Bonapartism. It was the German states that frustrated this attempt of the German people to give themselves a democratic constitution.

For these reasons the historical consciousness and experience of the German people identifies democracy more with the Reich than with the states. If we insist on creating democracy through state legislation and form a federal government which is merely some sort of delegation of the several states, the vast majority of Germans will feel that they have been forced to revert to the political status of the reactionary Metternich era, against which they rebelled a hundred years ago.

In this connection a word of caution must be uttered about the present so-called political situation in the several zones in Germany. Superficially it seems to be quite satisfactory from the viewpoint of the western democracies. In the American, British and French zones the Communists polled a very small vote. In the Russian zone the anti-communist parties showed surprising strength, even in such traditionally "red" districts as the State of Saxony. However, it must be thoroughly realized in this country and elsewhere that hitherto the development of political parties has occurred in a twilight zone of unrealism. In all zones, including the American, criticism "directed against decisions of conferences of Allied Powers on Germany or against decisions of the Control Council" is forbidden.

In other words, the political parties that are in existence in Germany today are not allowed to discuss such concrete problems as the expulsion of millions of Germans from the Eastern Provinces and Bohemia. They cannot engage in debates on economic reconstruction outside the scope of the Potsdam protocols. Intelligent discussion of such issues is possible only in terms of a fundamental and factual critique of the so-called economic plan devised at that "Big Three" Conference. These restrictions are not mentioned merely in order to criticize them. They may be deemed necessary for security and other reasons. But as long as the occupying Powers feel that they must curb free speech and free press in this manner, all political utterances and movements must be considered as purely tentative and inconclusive. It would be folly to base long-range political plans on the current apparent trends of politics in Germany.

It is in this context that we must evaluate the empha-

sis on further "political decentralization" in Germany. To all outward appearances, it will be possible to continue manufacturing new states and to build up a group of politicians identified with these structures. But this political edifice will be built on sand. It cannot possibly withstand the great stresses and strains to which continued international disagreement between the East and the West will expose it. A situation has already arisen which will make it extremely simple for the Russians to plant their political delayed-action bombs. For the time being the Russians seem to be much less anxious than Secretary Byrnes to establish a German government now. They can only gain from continued economic and political distress and disorganization in the western zones. The extreme federalism now encouraged there can in due time be used by communist propaganda as a scapegoat for the intolerable conditions. This will be precisely the time when that delayed bomb of the Russians will go off. They will then "discover" that now is the time to establish a German government, and press for its formation and recognition. In other words, by playing a delaying action now, the Russians retain the political initiative and place themselves in a position where they can come out at a moment of their own choosing with a plan for a reconstruction of the German federal government. Dressed up in terms psychologically more appealing than the Byrnes proposal, their plan would be one to assure communist domination.

The art of politics demands, among other things, the ability to foresee probable developments and the imagination to visualize the future implications of present decisions and conditions. The history of international conferences of the last few years, especially of the disastrous meetings at Yalta and Potsdam, does not give evidence that much of this art was at the disposal of the Western architects of what then was called a New World. But life and politics go on, and it is not too late now to learn from past mistakes. The problem before this country is to assume the initiative in settling the German question as a whole.

One of the dangers inherent in the present American plan is that it will not lead to a solution of all of the German question but merely of half of it. But in this case half a solution is even worse than no solution at all. It would establish an unstable frontier between the West and the East in the center of Germany. Each half would try to extend its domination over the other half. Thus the long, historical urge of the German people to achieve national unity would become inexorably involved with the world struggle between the West and the East. The danger of a Third World War would be brought that much nearer.

As a nation divided against itself through outside interference with its historical unity, the Germans cannot make any contributions to peace. Defeated, devastated and frustrated in its democratic aspirations, Germany would again become a threat to peace, not as an active aggressor, but as a carrier of the most contagious germs of international conflict.

By a bold and simple stroke American policy can find

a way out of this dilemma. It should discard its present attempt to establish a necessarily weak German Council based on the highly problematical states now being fostered. Instead it should urge the early election of a German constitutional convention whose purpose would be to elect a provisional government and to draft a new constitution. In such a convention the Communists would reveal their real weakness and would be less harmful than they are in the present ill-defined political situation.

Such an American move would be met with immense popular acclaim all over Germany. It would revive the

great confidence of the German people in American democracy, which, through unfortunate incidents under the military government, has been declining in recent months. It would be extremely difficult for the Russians to resist such an American suggestion. If they did, they would maneuver themselves into the uncomfortable position of upholding German separation and national disorganization. A strong policy towards Russia cannot confine itself to voting procedures and similar tactics. Unless it is supported by affirmative and constructive proposals, for the solution especially of the German question, it is in danger of ending in futility.

## **International action on refugees**

**William J. Gibbons**

*If the tragic problem of the world's millions of refugees is to be settled, the United States must take the lead. Americans, who never felt the horrors of total war, must be willing to sacrifice for those who have felt those horrors and are now without a country.*

Refugees have always existed, but the complicated conditions of modern society have tended to make them a greater problem than ever before. With national boundaries firmly established and a multiplicity of laws covering both citizen and sojourner everywhere, individuals are bound to have closer relationships with their respective governments. They must, consequently, look to them for protection and understanding. With economic life increasingly industrialized and tending to settle into a fixed pattern, prejudice often exists against the economic absorption of mobile peoples. It is all the more necessary, therefore, that there be adequate machinery on the international level, as well as the national, for handling and resettling the refugees who seem to be always with us.

An international approach to the problem is by no means new. After the first World War there were fully 1,500,000 Russians, White Russians and Ukrainians who could not or would not return home. The Revolution and the subsequent civil wars left them practically stateless. About half of them were located in France and Germany; the rest in Central Europe and Manchuria. To care for them, the office of High Commissioner on Refugees was created by the League of Nations in 1921. Employment, protection, repatriation and resettlement were the objectives. Since Fridtjof Nansen was the first Commissioner, the holders of passports or identification papers from this agency became known as Nansen refugees. Subsequently some 200,000 Armenians were put in charge of the agency. On March 31, 1946 the number of Nansen refugees was 256,000. Of these, 150,000 were Russians, 100,000 Armenians, 1,000 Assyrians and 5,000 from the Saar. In the intervening years the remainder had died, been naturalized, repatriated or in some other way absorbed. Since the office of High Commissioner of Refugees has wound up its affairs, the future of the unabsorbed Nansen refugees is still a matter of international concern.

New groups of refugees were created as a result of Hitler's regime and the Spanish civil war. To take care

of those escaping Nazi persecution, the Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees came into existence at the conference held at Evian, France, in 1938. The vast majority of persecuted Jews, of course, failed to escape and died at Nazi hands. Overniceties about immigration technicalities by other countries added to difficulties of providing even temporary sanctuary. The Inter-Governmental Committee did, however, take care of several hundred thousand refugees from Germany, Austria and the Sudetenland, mostly Jews. On March 31, 1946 the IGC still had 110,000 such refugees on its hands. In addition it was called upon to look after the 212,000 Spanish Republican refugees, who, rightly or wrongly, have no desire to return home under the present regime.

The task of repatriating persons displaced by World War II was substantially accomplished between the liberation of the occupied countries and late winter of 1945-1946. Thousands of the remaining unrepatriables, along with those who could probably be repatriated, passed into UNRRA camps. On March 31, 1946 the number of such UNRRA refugees in Europe and the Middle East was estimated at 850,000, most of them in the British and American zones of Germany. New refugees, many of them Jews from Poland, continue to come into the American and British zones. The problem of UNRRA's unrepatriables goes unsolved. The current debate at the United Nations General Assembly leads observers to think that even when the draft constitution for the International Refugee Organization is finally adopted there will still be difficulties and disputes on the subject of refugees. It is the new IRO which must take over UNRRA's problems.

Repatriation was the crux of the refugee question from the beginning. In accordance with resolutions adopted at various plenary sessions, UNRRA has constantly sought to reduce the number of refugees through the process of repatriating all who could be persuaded to return home. Mr. LaGuardia, in reporting to the Economic and Social Council of UN, estimated that perhaps as many as 400,

000 or 500,000 of the present 800,000 UNRRA refugees could ultimately be repatriated. Lack of information or false information about economic and political conditions in their homelands has in some cases been the reason for these refugees refusing repatriation. Meanwhile inducements to return are offered to these displaced persons by UNRRA and their home governments. The offer of 60 days' rations by the Polish Government to those returning home has helped some thousands of uncertain Poles to make up their minds. At the end of August there were approximately 355,000 former Polish citizens—not all of Polish ethnic nationality—in UNRRA camps. During August, 1946 some 23,500 Poles went back to their country. A further example of how repatriation works is the experience of UNRRA in Austria. Originally it had 1,230,600 DP's on its hands. As September began, 64 per cent of them had been repatriated, including 68 per cent of the Poles, 43 per cent of the Yugoslavs and 93 per cent of the Russians.

The basic attitude of UNRRA toward repatriation is brought out in the resolutions adopted at Atlantic City during its session there. At that meeting Resolution 71, as revised, read:

That the Council wishes to emphasize that, in carrying out its operations under the authority of Resolution No. 71, it should be the constant concern of the Administration to do all within its power, in consultation with and by representations to the occupying authorities, military authorities and the governments concerned, to bring about the removal of conditions which may interfere with the repatriation of the displaced persons concerned at the earliest possible moment. To this end the Administration is directed:

a) To remove any handicaps in the assembly centers to the prompt repatriation of displaced persons wishing to be repatriated, as may fall within its authority, and to recommend to the occupying authorities, and the governments concerned, as well as the Central Committee of UNRRA, measures for the removal of other handicaps;

b) To make available to the maximum extent the facilities and personnel of the Administration for the facilitation of the repatriation of displaced persons; . . .

c) To ascertain which of the displaced persons receiving UNRRA assistance wish to be repatriated or returned to their countries of origin or former residence.

Toward reaching these objectives the Administration is urged to cooperate with the governments concerned in allowing liaison officers to do their work, to weed out those guilty of war crimes and collaboration "against the interests or nationals of the United Nations," to allow displaced persons to receive full information from the governments of their origin.

Chief criticism against the UNRRA *modus agendi* has been its frequent and often inexpert "screenings" to ascertain who wish to go home or who are war criminals. Private reports indicate that bona-fide refugees are all too often subjected to needless inquiries tending to upset and even unbalance them. Another criticism has been the allowing of liaison officers from Russia or satellite countries to inform the refugees on conditions in their home-

land to induce them to return. The exclusion of non-accredited agents, in itself perfectly legitimate, has also at times led to distortion of information. Some have found in the offering of 60 days' rations an unbecoming or even unfair means of getting Poles to go home. Closer examination, however, reveals that fear of food shortage and unemployment deters a certain number of refugees from returning.

What can be justifiably objected to is the very marked tendency of Russian and satellite personnel to assume that those unwilling to return are guilty of fascism and war crimes. In the Russian mind there can be few, if any, genuine refugees; most are basically only rebellious subjects. This is the constant source of misunderstanding between East and West on the whole refugee problem. It will not be solved merely by transferring UNRRA's refugee operations to a new international refugee body. In fact it is most doubtful, judged from their own statements, whether the Russians will ever become active members of any such body. Two views on the nature and origin of human rights are in conflict, just as much as is the definition of a "refugee."

The constitution of the new IRO, however, gives some hope of serious international effort. The Russian prejudices and prepossessions are recognized but not entirely yielded to. The Preamble of the draft constitution states

that genuine refugees and displaced persons, until such time as their repatriation or re-settlement and re-establishment is effectively accomplished, should be protected in their rights and legitimate interests and should receive care and assistance. . . .

Provisions are inserted for safeguarding of the international and humanitarian character of the organization and to protect it from undue influence of member or non-member governments.

The object of the organization is reiterated in the Definitions, drawn from the Resolutions of the UN General Assembly on February 12, 1946. It is laid down:

The main object of the Organization will be to bring about a rapid and positive solution of the problem of bona fide refugees and displaced persons, which shall be just and equitable to all concerned. No bona fide refugee is to be deprived of assistance.

Weak point of the IRO Constitution is the manner in which it defines a "refugee." Such a person is said to be: 1) a victim of "nazi or fascist regimes or of regimes which took part on their side in the Second World War"; 2) Spanish Republicans and other victims of falangist persecution; 3) persons considered refugees before the outbreak of the Second World War, for "reasons of race, religion, nationality or political opinion" (i.e. Inter-Governmental Committee and Nansen refugees). Included in the category of "refugee" are deported persons and forced laborers who were victims of the fascist, nazi or quisling regimes. Also included are unaccompanied children outside their country of origin, and victims of nazi persecution returned to their countries but not yet permanently resettled therein. It is within the competence of the IRO to decide who in these categories is or is not deserving of the help of the Organization.

The limitations of the IRO concept of "refugee" show

up most clearly in its definition of "persons who will not be the concern of the Organization." These are: 1) war criminals, quislings, traitors; 2) those who have persecuted the civil populations of members of the UN, or who have voluntarily assisted the enemy, unless such assistance was purely humanitarian and non-military; 3) ordinary criminals; 4) persons of Germanic ethnic origin who were deported (the *Volksdeutsche*); 5) those supported financially by their own governments; 6) persons who since the cessation of hostilities have participated in organizations seeking to overthrow by force a government of the UN, or who have joined movements which are hostile to members of UN or which encourage refugees not to return home.

Obviously numbers 2, 4 and 6 of the above categories are the unanswered problems. The German deportees (#4) in most cases are victims of crying injustice and will sow the seeds of later economic and political conflict in the reconstructed Germany. Category 2, embracing those who have assisted the enemy, is a most unfortunate group. Between nazi domination and the Russian collaboration, hundreds of thousands of Europeans are hopelessly compromised with one government or another. Certain of the UN delegates would even have extended the exclusion from help to those who gave "humanitarian and non-military assistance." This would have left the Russians in complete mastery of all who took any steps against them during the war. Fortunately this deletion was bitterly fought by other delegates. Finally, category 6 excludes from help by IRO, if rigorously interpreted, many thousands of Ukrainians, Poles and Balts who have joined resistance organizations. What was a virtue in the case of the French *résistance* against the nazi overlords has become a crime when the opposition is to Russian usurpation (at times with nazi connivance) of non-Russian governments.

Despite the limitations of the UNRRA directives on refugees and the evident weaknesses of the IRO Constitution, there is some hope that international action will help solve the refugee problem, even though not within the three years asked by Mr. LaGuardia. Enough governments will probably take an active interest and contribute sufficient funds to administer some sort of resettlement plan.

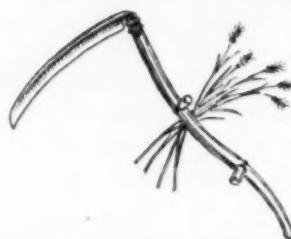
The ever-recurring question of funds and unwillingness to admit refugees will be the chief obstacles to effective resettlement. In overcoming these difficulties the United States *must* take the lead. If it does not, other nations will have the excuse they are only too ready to find for not doing anything to let down their legal barriers. Taking the lead means admitting refugees in sizable groups, probably of several hundred thousand, not merely the 50,000 hinted at by President Truman. It means either changing our immigration laws or providing at once for pooling of unused quotas so as to allow those of all nationalities to enter, even though their national quotas may be filled. In short, it means action and sacrifice by us Americans, who never experienced the horrors of total war, in favor of those who have felt them and now are without a country.

## **Labor among the Jews**

**M. Joseph Costelloe, S.J.**

To the Jews the heavens declared the work of God's hands. If God worked for six days and rested on the seventh, why should they not do in like manner? A pleasing picture of the laboring class is given by Rabbi Azariah:

Great is work, for every craftsman walks out with the implements of his calling, and is proud of them. Thus the weaver walks out with a shuttle in his ear. The dyer walks out with wool in his ear. The scribe walks out with his pen behind his ear. All are proud of their craft. God speaks of his work; how much more should man.



"they shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into spades."

Before these blessed days were to come, however, God would often enough be indignant at His people:

And behold, Yahweh was standing upon a plastered wall, and in his hand a mason's trowel. And the Lord said to me: "What seest thou, Amos?" And I said: "A mason's trowel." And the Lord said: "Behold, I will lay down the trowel in the midst of my people Israel. I will plaster them over no more . . . I will rise up against the house of Jeroboam with the sword."

The occasion for God's anger was frequently enough the disregard of the social regulations set forth in the Mosaic law. Among the original features of this code had been the prescription of the seventh day of the week as a day of rest. Every seventh year, too, was to be a sabbatical year, in which no crops were to be planted and the fruits of the earth which spontaneously came forth were to be the possession of the poor. The fiftieth year was to be a year of jubilee, in which the bondsman was to be freed with his wife and children and the land was to revert to its original owners. That these wise provisions for the race were not always observed we know from the prophecies of Isaias and Jeremias and Amos. The latter vividly portrays the restlessness of the rich on the Sabbath as they plan new deals for the morrow:

When will the month be over, and we shall sell our wares: and the sabbath, and we shall open the corn; that we may lessen the measure, and increase the sicle, and may convey in deceitful balances, that we may possess the needy for money, and the poor for a pair of shoes, and may sell the refuse of the corn?

Like that of other ancient civilizations, the Hebrew economy was partially based on slave labor. Unlike the slaves of other nations, however, the slaves of the Jews were protected by positive divine law. A pagan slave was, in a fashion, incorporated into the chosen race by being

circumcised. A Jew could temporarily be reduced to a state of servitude because of debt. He could even bind himself to the service of another for a period of six years, but he could not subject himself to a woman, nor to a convert, nor to a Gentile. Servants shared in the family joys and feasts. A master who struck out the tooth of one of his servants, or who put out his eye, was enjoined by the law to release him. The ideal relation of master and servant was set forth by Ecclesiasticus: "If thou have a faithful servant, let him be to thee as thy own soul: treat him as a brother, because in the blood of thy soul thou hast gotten him."

With the dignity of the subordinate assured by the Law, it is not surprising that the early tradition of the dignity of labor persisted in large part throughout the course of Jewish history. The honor paid to honest labor by our Lord's contemporaries can be gathered from the New Testament and the Rabbinic tradition found in the Mishna and the Talmud.

In the gospels, various artisans are shown at their tasks—fishermen, stonecutters, tailors, masons, stewards, weavers, fullers, carpenters and vine-dressers. Oil, pearls, cloth, arms, perfumes and wine are all objects of trade. In the estimation of the Rabbis the pursuit of a trade was second only to the study of the law:

Excellent is the study of the Law together with worldly occupation, for toil in them both puts sin out of mind. But all study of the Law without worldly labor comes to naught at the last and brings sin in its train.

Beautiful is intellectual occupation if it is combined with some practical work.

Great is the dignity of labor; it honors man.

Great is work; he who does not work in the week will end by working on the Sabbath.

Whoever does not teach his son a trade teaches him to be a robber.

Work, to the Jews, was a political remedy for concupiscence. Even if a woman should bring to her husband a hundred bondwomen, "he should compel her to work in wool, for idleness leads to unchastity." More than a hundred Rabbis who appear in the Talmud were artisans. Among them were to be found cobblers, tailors, bakers, druggists, astronomers, surveyors, architects, smiths, carpenters, woodchoppers, leatherworkers, fishermen, and even a groats-grinder and a grave-digger.

There was of course a minority opinion among the Jewish teachers in opposition to the gospel of labor. It was expressed by Rabbi Nechorai when he taught:

I neglect all the trades of the world and teach my child only the *Torah*, the science whose fruits one eats in this world, while the capital remains whole for the future world. Other trades are not so good: one becomes sick or old, or having other maladies one cannot work, one dies of hunger. But the *Torah* shelters a man from all evil in his youth, and gives hope for his old age.

Rabbi Ha-Kanah used to pray:

I give thee thanks, O Lord, that thou hast appointed me my portion among those who frequent the House of Instruction, and not among those who labor at the street corners. For I rise early and they rise early. At break of day I apply myself to the words

of the Law; but they, to vain things. I work and they work. I work and receive my reward, they work and receive none. I run after eternal life, and they to the pit.

A puritanical outlook which regarded success in life as a sure sign of divine favor was an unfortunate complement to the general Jewish esteem for labor. Added to this attitude of the wealthier classes was the notion of ritual uncleanness which made the Rabbis abhor certain professions:

The world cannot be without males and females; however, happy is he whose children are male, and woe to him whose children are female. The world cannot be without a spice dealer and a tanner; happy is he who is a spice dealer, and woe to him who is a tanner.

Most donkey-drivers are bad; camel-drivers are generally honest folk; most sailors are pious. The best of physicians will go to hell, and the most honest of butchers is the associate of Amalek.

These various opinions from the Mishna and the Talmud show that there was no unanimity of opinion on the merits of certain professions.

Lofty as was the Jewish ideal of labor in comparison with that of Rome, it was still incomplete—and as it was interpreted, it was even more so. Usury could be exacted from a pagan but not from a Jew; the Sabbath rest was a Jewish privilege; the pagan slave, though shielded by the Law, was in a far worse condition than the Jewish bondsman. Surely the lot of the slave described by Ecclesiasticus was far from happy:

Fodder, and a wand, and a burden are for an ass: bread, and correction, and work for a slave. He worketh under correction, and seeketh to rest: let his hand be idle, and he seeketh liberty.

Such was the milieu into which the Saviour was born.

## Notes from Paris

I was in Paris for the last week of the elections, and can claim to have conscientiously read all the voluminous party statements which, according to French custom, were pasted on every wall in Paris. The first thing that struck me was the extremely hypocritical and lying campaign made by the Communists. To a foreigner it seemed incredible that it would gain them a single vote. There was absolutely no Marxism about it at all. The slogan was that the CP was the standard-bearer of the French renascence. All the bourgeois virtues were claimed for the party: honesty, patriotism, protection of private property (yes!), democracy. . . . I caught no note of anti-Catholic bigotry (only the Socialists were guilty of that, though of course the Popular Republicans were attacked, as was every other party). In fact, I remarked to a friend after a trip of investigation that I now was completely informed on the vices of all the parties, but still in the dark as to their virtues. Not a word from the Communists about Russia.

The fact is that the Communists can now boast that dishonesty is the best policy. They made gains in all the great industrial areas, and, most surprising of all, among the country people, whose tenacity about private prop-

erty is proverbial. The fact again is that the ordinary person, who does not read much, would get the idea that the Communist Party was just an ordinary democratic party, with a glowing love for the Republic, and with this added virtue, that it has a special love and providence for the common man, including the man with a small property, who might feel lost in the clash of larger interests. I am told that the campaigning technique of the Communists was excellent: they never let up for an instant, they were well supplied with funds and they got their message to the attention of practically every citizen of the Republic.

Yet there was this consoling aspect of the results. The Socialists lost about 750,000 votes; the Communists gained about 275,000. In other words, the Marxists, taken together, lost about a half-million votes, and with them the majority in the Chamber. Or, in terms of percentages, the anti-Marxist voters are now 54 per cent of the people, the anti-Communists 72 per cent. In terms of conviction, the actual Marxists are very much less than 46 per cent.

I have said that the Communists showed no overt anti-Catholic bias. Beneath the surface, however, there was a bitter religious battle. One of the communist slogans was the old battle-worn one: *pour l'école laïque*—"for laicism in the schools." In more honest terms, that meant to every Frenchman: keep the Catholic Church out of the public schools; and to the more rabid: keep the Church out of any school. Here again was the old bitter battle of the Third Republic, once carried on by the Radicals and the Freemasons. It is well known that, if the Communists have their way, they will close every Catholic college in the country; and, while the Catholics have hardly any vocational schools, they have at least fifty per cent of the secondary-school population (high schools and junior colleges). The Popular Republicans have been the only defenders of liberty of education, and cannot count on the Center parties for support on that.

Another little-known issue in the elections was "tripartism"—in other words, the recent system of government through the Big Three. This system had its serious disadvantages. The Ministries in the Cabinet were allotted to the three parties according to their strength, and the Cabinet members took no orders from their chief, M. Bidault, but ran their Departments (and foreign affairs) to suit themselves. It was as if President Truman had fifteen Wallaces in his Cabinet. The issue, however, was used with telling effect among Catholics and conservatives against Bidault's Popular Republicans. The matter of a government alliance with the Communists, while a political necessity, was a sore matter with many Catholics, who follow the Popular Republicans generally, and a great number of them must have deserted the party on that issue. They had, of course, a conscience-saver in the PRL, which is at least conservative.

Another unspoken issue in the campaign was none other than General de Gaulle. He had bitterly criticized the Popular Republicans for their acceptance of the new Constitution, and by that fact forced the party into promising to work for its reform, thus exposing it to

criticism from the Communists and Socialists, with whom it had joined in the Assembly in passing it. The Constitution is in fact a compromise hodge-podge, and many sound thinkers believe it is workable. But that apart, the friends of de Gaulle formed a party of their own. They won only nine seats, taking that many away from the Popular Republicans. But more than that, they must have taken many thousands of votes away in constituencies in which they did not win, thus undoubtedly defeating several other Popular Republicans. De Gaulle himself did not publicly espouse the party named after him, but neither did he repudiate it, and this morning there's a great deal of bitterness about him. He won many a seat for the Communists.

I have said that many people regret the eclipse of the Socialists. Their fate is a curious one. Their left wing is constantly slipping over to the Communists, as the true representative of the workers, and their right wing, since they reverted to rigorous Marxism as a policy in September, has no doubt become affrighted and deserted them. One of their opponents had this to say of them today: "Despite its Marxist doctrines, the Socialist party retained a breath of liberty, of humanism, in political life. One could have hoped for it that it would attain this double ideal of social justice and personal dignity." It was at least democratic in its purposes, and many a conservative looked to it as to an ally against Soviet tyranny. Alas, it never gave up its anti-clericalism (that is, anti-religion), and it seems to have had no new idea in a half-century.

Two consequences of the election are awaited with much interest today. One of them is the formation of the new government, and the other is the coming election of the President of the Republic. The first of these events will have taken place before this appears, so little need be said about it. Few will be surprised if the old tripartite system is set on foot again. Nobody wants it, but nobody sees how it can be avoided. There is no longer a Marxist majority, as I have said, even if the Socialists would agree to go in with the Communists; so it looks from here as if the Fourth Republic will be ushered in with an inherent contradiction in its soul. It will have one powerful anti-Marxist party, with one weak and one powerful Marxist one; and the last will be constantly working for the destruction of the two others. There does not seem to be enough authority deposited in the Constitution to enforce discipline. As for the Presidency, who knows? De Gaulle? Blum, the Socialist? Bidault, perhaps? De Gaulle does not seem to want it, now that it carries no power with it. Blum might take it, as a compromise candidate, but he is old and tired. It is hard to see why Bidault should take himself out of active politics. The best guess from here was that it would be some neutral party hack willing to be put on the shelf. In this case, de Gaulle will be working against the Constitution, and the Communists will be working for the downfall of France and its re-creation as a parasite of Russia. Nobody is looking cheerfully to the future, and yet nobody knows just how anything else could have happened. It is like some old Greek tragedy.

WILFRID PARSONS

## Mr. O'Neill's *Iceman*

**Louis F. Doyle**

*Is Mr. O'Neill a playwright or a dramatist? Father Doyle, of the English faculty of St. Louis University, draws some pertinent distinctions. It is only, he feels, certain limitations in the field of thought which deny O'Neill the greater title.*

Mr. O'Neill's return to Broadway, after an absence of twelve years, has been variously greeted. The critical reactions to *The Iceman Cometh* range from high eulogy to puzzlement to despair and rage. And it is to be suspected that, secretly, Mr. O'Neill's somewhat saturnine countenance grinneth as he murmureth, *Quare fremuerunt gentes?*

The baffled and angry ones probably matriculated on Broadway after 1934 and know not Eugene. Seeing no resemblance between *The Iceman* and *Arsenic and Old Lace* or *Harvey* has thrown them off stride, and the author's utter silence as to the meaning of the play has been of no help whatever. If they could reach George Jean Nathan, who was Mr. O'Neill's champion and interpreter fifteen or twenty years ago, he might be able to enlighten them. I have long felt that it would be of great benefit to both stage and public if most of our dramatic critics would take five years out and devote them exclusively to the study of drama, under proper guidance. Most of them have not yet discovered the difference between a playwright and a dramatist, between theatre and drama.

A good playwright is one whose vision is keen enough to discern something worth saying and who can say it well. In other words, he has mastered the tools and technique of his trade. These are character, plot, dialog and all the resources of the physical theatre, all of which are mere scaffolding for "a spire of meaning," which may be almost anything the author chooses so long as it is one thing only.

The master playwright and the master dramatist are seldom found in combination, not since *The Tempest*, in fact. Mr. O'Neill has demonstrated time and again that he is a great playwright. With the exception of a few "experimental" plays, the spire of meaning is always there and unmistakable. *A priori* it is just about certain that the thing meant in *The Iceman* is said clearly and well.

The question to be asked of an O'Neill play is, usually, was it worth saying? Usually, it has been well worth. *The Hairy Ape* is a superbly powerful indictment of the social evils bred by unrestrained capitalism. But there is *Strange Interlude*, which took six hours to say, apparently, that sexual morality is, in any given case, determined purely by circumstances. Finer than either as sheer playcraft was *Emperor Jones*, which said nothing, properly speaking, but showed powerfully the peeling off,

layer by layer, onion-like, of a Negro's subconscious, under the moral disintegration of fear, to the lowest layer of the racial experience. It is very unlikely that Mr. O'Neill has anything of any importance to learn about playwriting or stagecraft.

If he is not a truly great dramatist, it is only because he has certain limitations in the field of thought. That a dramatist must be a thinker, great or small, I assume, though I realize that the view is anathema to all who associate thought in the theatre with didacticism, indoctrination, propaganda, long hair and eccentric habits, none of which I have in mind. A thinker is merely one who can shed light on something the world needs very much to see.

In the theatre, these have been few, and on two different levels. There is the writer who sees clearly the questions and problems that bedevil the world and can present them powerfully, but who has no answers or solutions. Most modern playwrights, from Ibsen downward, have been iconoclastic, accusatory, underliners of social evils, rather than constructive or positive. Following the lead of Ibsen, they have, at most, implied an inference which the audience might draw, without incurring the odium attached to the teacher. Even at that, such writers are serviceable. It is of prime importance to know what the questions are. Half the genius of the Greeks lay precisely in that alert play of intellect over the whole of life. All their answers may not have been right, but they left not a question of any importance untouched before they were through.

Now by taste and temperament, Mr. O'Neill is very much the thinker. The meaning of life and the best way of living it to attain the fullest possible spiritual health and stature before departing for whatever may be beyond, have engaged his mind from the beginning, but if he arrived at any philosophy of life up to 1934, it is not apparent in his works. That was the year of *Days Without End*, a confused sermon on a text in which he plainly had little belief, his most uncharacteristic work because he seemed to be speaking against his own convictions. It is possible that by now he has achieved his quest for life's meaning and that *The Iceman's* full meaning is to be sought in the cycle of O'Neill plays of which it is only one.

Meanwhile the facial import of the play seems to be something like this: "Men cannot live without illusions—or delusions?—about themselves. Take these away and

they cannot bear the sight of themselves. It is cruelty to make them see themselves as they are." Well, no doubt there is some bitter truth in this, but does it solve anything?

I would not ask that question, were it not for the nature of the problem involved. The problem of evil, its origin, its nature, its cure, is, of course, the greatest problem in the whole field of human thought. No writer is obligated to attack it, and most writers untrained in the field of moral philosophy have wisely let it alone. Those who have rushed in without such training—Byron and Shelley are sad examples—have floundered hopelessly. But if a writer does attack it, and Mr. O'Neill has, and fails of a solution (and Mr. O'Neill seems, not to have failed exactly, but just given it up in cynical despair), I see no reason why the drama should not be regarded as a failure dramatically, whatever its value may be from the audience standpoint of theatre, entertainment, amusement.

No dramatist need set up as a moral philosopher, but if he does, his play must be judged on its merits as philosophy simply because there is no other possible basis of judgment. In the past, O'Neill has never aimed at more than the presentation of a selected portion of life and has succeeded admirably, as a rule. It is a lower level of thought, but he has qualified on that level as few others have. *The Iceman* is a departure from his usual practice. As for his conclusion—well, if it is false, that's that. If it is true, that is still that, because why write a four-and-a-half-hour play to tell us that delusion is better than truth? Why not leave us happy in the delusion, to which many of us subscribe, that truth is better than delusion?

There is something large and moving in the figures that inhabit the earlier plays. Almost, they reached high tragedy. Though caught in the web of heredity, environment and circumstance, they yet struggled—without faith or hope, true—but they struggled. They went out, but with a bang, not a whimper. The Yanks, the Anna Christies and the Joneses, all had heads bloody but unbowed. It is not the tragedy of character, as *Macbeth*, nor even the tragedy of Fate, as the Greek drama, but it is the noblest possible in a universe as meaningless as that of Thomas Hardy. For to say that Mr. O'Neill has always been intellectually honest would be understatement. His intellectual integrity has been almost quixotic in a theatre not particularly noted for artistic honesty. He once said:

Sure I'll write about happiness if I can happen to meet up with that luxury, and find it sufficiently dramatic and in harmony with any deep rhythm of life. But happiness is a word. What does it mean? Exaltation; an intensified feeling of the significant worth of man's being and becoming? Well, if it means that—I know there is more of it in one real tragedy than in all the happy-ending plays ever written. It's merely present-day judgment to think of tragedy as unhappy.

That is a perfectly sound statement. When I saw what Hollywood had done to *The Hairy Ape* to make it more palatable to good Republicans as well as to the Disney

trade, remembering that expression of his artistic credo, I thought, "Mr. O'Neill is not going to like this," nor did I.

As for happiness, it is perhaps more of a luxury now than when he made the statement. But there is still some of it around. It is just possible that it is the indiscriminate, unpredictable mixture of happiness and unhappiness that we find unsatisfactory. If life were all one or the other, one source of tension at least would be eliminated: the ever-present fear of the future and the things to come.

The very fact that in drama we drained off the two elements into the separate compartments of tragedy and comedy seems to indicate a consciousness of this. High tragedy disappeared from the theatre with the advent of a newly rich, semi-literate, capitalistic middle-class audience, for whom the only catastrophe worthy of tears was to lose money, and who were tolerant of nothing that suggested that the world they had created was not the best yet, if not the best possible. Its favorite plot was that of the poor but honest young man who goes down to London, makes a fortune in sausages or ale, is elected Lord Mayor, and marries the proud daughter of a haughty Marquis.

There has been a deal of academic nonsense about tragedy. Surely it is not difficult to understand that it is wholesome and bracing to face up to the worst that life can hold, far less unhappy than to run away from it. Face it and half the evil of it disappears. "Sudden the worst turns the best at the last." But when transferred to the stage, it is somehow heroic only when the protagonist has a fighting chance for victory. And this chance for victory of principle is possible only in a libertarian, Christian world.

The weakness of Greek drama, in which Fate pre-determines all, is the weakness of modern drama, in which Fate is superseded by Environment, at least implicitly. Where can be the heroism in creatures who, by definition, cannot do otherwise than they do? This is the weakness, too, the only weakness, of Mr. O'Neill's tragic drama, but it is fatal to his greatness as a dramatist. As social criticism, it is of the first order. More than that, there is essential poetry strewn through it. There is burning indignation at what man has made of man. There is an Euripidean compassion for wrongs he cannot right, evils he cannot destroy. As for the defect mentioned, it is as much that of the modern age as Mr. O'Neill's, and no doubt he is better aware of it than anyone. That is the way life looks to him and he is too honest, both as a man and as an artist, to picture it otherwise.

The alarming thing about *The Iceman* is that it sounds a note he has never sounded before, the note of tired futility, defeat, surrender. Where is the "intensified feeling of the significant worth of man's being and becoming?" It seems more like seeking escape from life into cocoons of petty self-illusion. Since dramatic values must remain what they have always been, it seems too bad that Mr. O'Neill's first answer to a question of such importance should be so unworkable.

# Books

## Checking on Chiang

### THUNDER OUT OF CHINA

By Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby. Sloan. 325p. \$3

To mediate peace between the Kuomintang and the Communists late in 1944, the U. S. Ambassador to China, Patrick J. Hurley, "would have required infinite patience, an almost saintly tolerance, vigorous administrative skill and a deep understanding of China." The authors of this book contend that the Ambassador brought to his task little more than "blithe good spirits."

A similar rare and happy combination of qualities would be desirable in authors essaying a fair chronicle and constructive analysis of China's history during the past few decades. Theodore White and Mrs. Jacoby undertook their work far from empty-handed; with a little more patience and tolerance they might have succeeded completely.

*Thunder Out of China* is well organized. It gives one of the most adequate and carefully written stories of China's war and its aftermath yet written. The book contains some fine, three-dimensional prose. Perhaps the Chungking of China's war was "a point in time apart from geography, like Munich or Versailles." It has not perished entirely. The authors have pictured it for posterity, tenderly and forcefully, with details that are palpable, pungent and vivid. Other moving stories describe the migration of China's factories and universities, an early battlefield in Shansi, a grim famine in Honan. General Stilwell's service to China and his devotion to the men of her armies are given the tribute they deserved. The situation that led to his removal from the CBI command is well explained.

So much heroism and hope and excitement crowded the start of China's war that afterwards "it was always anticlimax." The authors are earnest with compassion for China's peasant millions, and are indignant against their oppressors. That is all to the good. But they launch upon an almost endless bill of particulars against Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, and berate the Kuomintang for its alleged domination by a corrupt clique of landholders. The authors aim to be fair. They qualify

their charges. But they so distribute their space and their adjectives that they create a total impression unjust to Chiang and his party.

Many specific charges have much truth in them. But the Kuomintang did effect great progress in China throughout the decade 1927-1937. The authors admit that Japan thought she was attacking a mere coalition of warlords instead of a whole new people. This blunder upset her whole imperialist time-table. The task of the Chinese government is to "transfer half a billion people from the world of the Middle Ages into the world of the atomic bomb." With the little peace that the Kuomintang has known, it has moved the country forward notably.

Nor is due credit given to military progress. China, as the authors note, began her battle with an army whose leaders had no common training. It had no military tradition, no roads, no hygiene. Its troops were untrained and undernourished. Yet somehow it held down 1,500,000 Japanese soldiers for six years. It was stronger in 1945 than in 1937, and its effectiveness now seems greater than Yenan has bargained for.

Again, the willingness of Chiang and the Kuomintang to reform their administration is played down. However, those members of the Party whom the authors praise as liberal and progressive, and in whom they ultimately place hope for China's betterment, do occupy influential posts in the government today: T. V. Soong, the Premier ("patriotic, far-seeing, efficient"); Wang Shih-chieh, Foreign Minister ("honest, able, respected"); Dr. Wong Wen-hao, Minister of Industry (a "man of glowing integrity and ability"); General Ch'en Ch'eng, Chief of Staff ("relatively efficient, ready for a housecleaning of dead wood"). Nor is Sun Fo, "fearless liberal," silent or inactive in Party or government circles at present.

The authors are perhaps prone to present the Chinese Communists in too benign a light. Their elections are so often unanimous, and held only after such forced and intense courses of indoctrination, that they can scarcely be called free. Nor are their demands as modest as they seem. To ask for political (and military) control over Shantung, Hopei, Shansi, Chahar and Jehol was to demand that a wide Red corridor be thrown across north China. It would have cut the Nationalists off from any effective control of vital Manchuria. "Chiang stood for a moment within reach of statesmanship," says this book. "His assent to the Commu-

nists' terms would have brought peace." But no self-respecting government should renounce its sovereignty and national unity for the doubtful appeasement of rebel leaders who profess the principle that an agreement is valid only if, and as long as, it helps the communist cause.

One bit of sophomoric writing calls for correction:

For 400 years, since the galleons of Don Alfonso de Albuquerque threaded the Straits of Malacca in 1511, to be followed by Saint Francis Xavier a few decades later, the white man had trampled roughshod over the dignity and culture of the dark-skinned peoples of Asia. The white man in his military arrogance had looted the Orient of its wealth and thrust his faith down the gullet of the heathen at bayonet's point. For 400 years the bitterness of the people of Asia had been gradually accumulating against this system, and the pressure was volcanic.

This statement exaggerates the behavior of white merchants. It calumniates unjustly a multitude of devoted missionaries of many faiths. Historically the bayonet's point was often in the missionary's gullet, and drew his blood. It did not curb his love for Christ and for the desperately poor people of China.

The careful reader who keeps the above points in mind can derive from *Thunder Out of China* important information and sympathetic awareness about an extremely complex movement that directly affects the destiny of half a billion Asiatics, and indirectly the peace of the world.

CHARLES J. McCARTHY, S.J.

## Bren guns in the Holy Land

### THIEVES IN THE NIGHT

By Arthur Koestler. Macmillan. 357p. \$2.75

Mr. Koestler might be described, with some degree of justice, as a secular Graham Greene. They are both preoccupied with the political mainsprings of human conduct—Mr. Koestler more exclusively so than Mr. Greene—and they are both past masters of that specialty of twentieth-century prose and poetry, the metaphysical image. But there the resemblance stops, for Mr. Koestler is insulated, by his diving-bell of secularism, from the sacramental element in which Mr. Greene draws his deepest breaths.

The consequent weakness in Mr. Koestler's otherwise very strong posi-

tion is more apparent in *Thieves in the Night* than in his other books, since its theme is the ancient tragic theme of Israel's martyrdom as brought into new focus by the present three-cornered Palestinian impasse among Arab, Jew and British mandatory power. But Jehovah belongs with His turbulent people. The Ark ought not be empty; the scrolls ought not be blank. Mr. Koestler has put on the helmet of Joshua for this novel of Juda's warriors at bay before their old Canaanite enemies, but an arrow will surely find the chink in his armor, if Rabbi Greenfield only "lives in a world petrified into symbols and make-believe." The foremost political novelist of our day has come a long way since his repudiation of Soviet Communism in 1938; but his road is blocked to further advance so long as the "stubborn ritual" of Passover remains for him nothing more than "faricality" and "make-believe."

His unpleasant old obsession with the physical details of sex continues to

throw his pages off balance. Aside from the esthetic imbalance, it may even be queried whether this time it has not involved him in a downright dramatic, or rather melodramatic, implausibility. The discovery of Joseph's circumcision is advanced as the reason for the protagonist's "shell-shock" trauma in regard to the Gentile world. But surely modern surgery's having borrowed this particular item of Mosaic wisdom as a therapeutic commonplace for new-born males has gone far towards nullifying this Pauline difference.

Nonetheless, *Thieves in the Night* is one of Koestler's best books, almost as good—perhaps every bit as good—as his previous high point, *Darkness at Noon*. Half-documentary, half-fiction, but not at all a hybrid *genre* in combination, it covers a period of three years, 1937 to 1939, in the life of Ezra's Tower, a Zionist farm-commune in the Holy Land. Koestler's "mirror of the mind" technique shifts with amazing dexterity and objectivity from con-

sciousness to consciousness: from British consul to Arab editor; from village Mukhtar to American journalist. Things come to their sharpest focus, however, in Joseph, half-Gentile English immigrant who, driven by the dreadful logic of events, has, by the end of the volume, become a member of Stern's terrorist organization whose Sinn Féin tactics are designed to drive the British into recognizing a Jewish state.

The somber narrative closes on two grim notes. So far as orderly administration went, "lawlessness reigned as the supreme law in the Holy Land"; and here Mr. Koestler sees no way out. So far as the Jewish cause is concerned, the author can only contribute another sinister symbol to the torture-chamber emblems he concretized in earlier books: to knout, judas window, commissar and concentration camp he now adds a new avatar of the ancient messianic yearning, Yair-Stern's gun-messiah, whose Bren gun can chatter the new Esperanto of our anarchic age, which everybody understands, "from Shanghai to Madrid."

CHARLES A. BRADY

#### First career in public office

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By W. P. Cresson, University of North Carolina. 506p. \$5

It is high time that James Monroe, "the last of the Virginia Dynasty," was rescued from underserved oblivion, and Mr. Cresson's posthumous biography will be welcomed not only by students interested in the early years of our country but by anyone who enjoys an interesting, well-told story.

The debt we owe James Monroe and the important part he played in the founding of the Republic have long been forgotten. Historians usually skim over his life and achievements in a few sentences and dismiss his Presidential career as the "Era of Good Feeling"—a quiet, uneventful lull between the War of 1812 and the bitter sectional controversies which led to the War of Secession. Yet his public life spanned those eventful forty years which saw the triumph of the Revolution, the chaos of the Confederation, the ratification of the Constitution, the struggle between Federalists and Jeffersonians, the second war with England and the emergence of the United States as a united, powerful and respected nation during the years of his administration as President.

Ps. 24:11

Ps. 29:11

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In all these events James Monroe played an important and decisive role. He was perhaps the first of our professional statesmen to make public office his career; indeed, from his first election to the Virginia Assembly in 1782, at the age of twenty-four, until his retirement from the White House in 1825, he was rarely a private citizen but Assemblyman, Congressman, Senator, Governor, Envoy, Secretary of State, President. Truly a varied and crowded career, and one that proclaims him a man of more than ordinary character and ability.

A quiet, reserved man, rarely indulging in the dramatic or spectacular, his genuine friendliness, rugged honesty, fairness and industry won him the confidence and affection of the people and their leaders. A States-Rights liberal and champion of the West, he early teamed with Jefferson and Madison to lead the forces opposed to Federalism. Although lacking Madison's intellectual acumen and Jefferson's versatility, his political gifts made him not the least important of that famous triumvirate.

Such is the man whose life story Mr. Cresson depicts for us with the dramatic skill of a true artist. Although fired with admiration and enthusiasm for his subject, the author tells his story completely and objectively; Monroe's failures and shortcomings are not ignored or explained away. The only field of endeavor in which he did not excel was as an Envoy to European governments. His extreme partiality for France caused his recall from Paris by Washington, and later under Jefferson he failed to secure acceptable treaties with England and Spain. Indeed, his only outstanding success in the diplomatic field was in negotiating the Louisiana Purchase. But Monroe was a man who could profit by his failures and learn from mistakes, as he proved in his dealings with foreign governments as Secretary of State and President.

The author is at his best in his treatment of Monroe as President. His policies and activities are woven into a well-rounded contemporary background, giving a clear understanding of their wisdom, importance and influence on current developments. For his administration was a time of change both of leaders and issues; the Founders of the Republic were all dead or in retirement, leaving Monroe as the "last of the Revolutionary Fathers"; the new generation of leaders, Jackson, Clay, Calhoun, Webster and others who were

to guide the destinies of the nation during the second quarter of the nineteenth century were already on the scene. The old issues, Federalism, pro-French or pro-English policy, the Mississippi, were casualties of the War of 1812; internal improvements, Western expansion, the tariff, slavery were the new problems facing Congress and the people.

How the prudence, tolerance and broad statesmanship of Monroe softened the shock and dislocations of the change and guided the emerging interests and forces makes exciting and enjoyable reading which is at the same time vastly instructive.

A study of President Monroe's foreign policy should prove not only interesting but profitable for our leaders today; his skillful handling of Spain and the South American Republics, and especially of Russia's attempts at expansion on the Pacific Coast, reads like yesterday's newspaper. The author's rather lengthy treatment of the Monroe Doctrine is justified by the excellent picture of the European and South American background, which made such a declaration of policy not only reasonable but inevitable. The persistent tradition that the Declaration was really the work of John Quincy Adams is carefully analyzed and exploded.

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servant saddened the last years of Monroe's life. Heavy debts incurred during his long years in public office forced him to sell his Virginia estates and depend on the charity of his son-in-law, at whose New York home he died on July 4, 1831.

Generous thanks are due to Messrs. Howe, Paradise and the Editors of the University of North Carolina Press who rescued the unfinished manuscript of this first scholarly and comprehensive study of Monroe's life and public services, and prepared it for publication. It will surely take its place as one of the outstanding biographies of the year and as one which shows how forever timely are the lessons of the past.

F. J. GALLAGHER

## The Word

THE MOOD PROPER TO ADVENT, as revealed in the liturgy, is a blend of high anticipation with determined activity.

Time and again, the mass and the divine office encourage us to keep our gaze fixed on the "King who is to come," but they also admonish us not to neglect that thorough house-cleaning of the heart, that sweeping and garnishing of the soul which the occasion demands.

We look forward eagerly to Christmas; but we are not to lift our eyes to the future in such wise as to overlook the present, with its definite opportunity of translating anticipation into appropriate activity.

This double theme of Advent appears in the introit for the first Sunday: "To Thee have I lifted up my soul. In Thee, O my God, I put my trust" (Ps. 24:1). The epistle is a stirring reminder that we must not wait supinely for the Lord and so run risk of being asleep when the bridegroom comes: "It is now the hour for us to rise from sleep . . . let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and put on the armor of light" (Rom. 13: 11-13). So Paul exhorts us, and he subjoins a grimly practical list of suggestions for a reformation of our lives.

Through the mass for the second Sunday, the same motif runs, as exemplified in the secret prayer with its statement of the classic theological equation between faith and good works: "Be appeased, we beseech Thee, O Lord, by the prayers and sacrifices of

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our lowliness." Germane to that is Paul's recommendation, in the epistle of the mass for the third Sunday, of "prayer and supplication and thanksgiving" (Phil. 4:6). The three Ember days in the third week catch up the refrain and are capped by the thunderous warning of the Baptist in the mass for the fourth Sunday: "Make ready the way of the Lord, make straight His paths."

Through the Advent office the solemn words of Isaias toll like a great bell, lamenting the failure of Israel to recognize its God and, by implication, alerting us against the same dreadful mistake. There is the call to penitential preparation, as in the sermon of St. Leo on the third Sunday; but there is also the encouraging assurance of eternal mercy: "if your sins be as scarlet, they shall be made white as snow" (Is. 1:18); there is the great sign promised to Achaz, King of Juda, of the virgin who "shall conceive and bear a Son, and His name shall be called Emmanuel" (Is. 7:14). These are only a few glints from the heaped gold of concept and imagery in the Advent liturgy. But they may indicate the spiritual riches which await us if, in the spirit of pilgrimage and penance, we turn our minds once more to Bethlehem.

Before the manger there is no place for the proud. "God humbles Himself," exclaims St. Bernard, "and dost thou exalt thyself?" There is no room for the arrogant in the presence of a God made man in order, as Augustine says, that man might be made more like God. With Our Lady bending over her Child, the bright glory of her modesty enveloping her, what right has the impure person to set foot in that beautiful and holy spot?

Here is Love incarnate, and the rancorous, the sarcastic, the uncharitable cannot feel at ease as they look on Him. He who has all riches is wrapped in swaddling clothes and laid in a manger; faced with that fact, the man whose whole concern is the acquiring of wealth even at the cost of his soul, must be, or ought to be, necessarily disquieted.

There is no room at Bethlehem except for the child-like of heart, for of such is the kingdom of heaven. If there is a vice in your heart which disqualifies you from standing before Christ's manger, Advent is the season of opportunity, a time for making ready the way of the Lord, a time for making straight His paths.

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# Theatre

**AMERICAN REPERTORY THEATRE.** If sincerity of purpose, intelligence and taste were always adequately rewarded, the promoters of the American Repertory Theatre could look forward to the success of their project without a tremor of doubt. Their initial offering is a set of three plays; Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, Barrie's *What Every Woman Knows* and Ibsen's *John Gabriel Borkman*. *Henry* and *Borkman*, of course, do not represent their authors at their best; and Barrie's theme, hardly original when Sir James first presented it, has since become what practically every school-girl knows.

As a group, however, the above-mentioned plays make an ideal program for launching a repertory venture.

Of the three plays, only *Borkman*, the strongest and least widely known, requires specific mention. It is the story of two sisters perpetually at war with each other, first as rivals for the love of the same man, and later as mother and aunt, competing for the affection of his son. The men are absorbed in other interests—the father craves power while the son wants love—and each pursues his own aims with indifference toward the desires of the women. Most contemporary playwrights, one fears, would give the story a sensual or morbid slant, but it emerged from Ibsen's sensitive imagination as an austere clash of character.

All theatregoers who are of reflective temperament will find the ART interpretation, with Eva Le Gallienne, Margaret Webster and Victory Jory in the leading roles, an event for treasured memory.

A repertory theatre proves its worth by the quality of its acting, and in that field ART is richly endowed with competent and versatile talent. Some members of the company have long been conspicuous luminaries of the stage but ART sensibly excluded brilliance from its inaugural program. Each production is presented by a balanced company of accomplished performers, apparently schooled in the tradition that the play's the thing and that the actors' sole duty is to make the playwrights' intention clear.

While versatility is unevenly distributed among members of the company, hardly an astonishing fact, none of the performers who appear in more than one role is a failure in two. The season

has offered no other experience so delectable as Miss Le Gallienne's transition from the proud and tragic Katherine, in *Henry*, to the frivolous la Brière, in *What Every Woman Knows*, to the frustrated Ella, in *Borkman*. In the latter play, Margaret Webster is impressive as the cold, adamantine Mrs. Borkman. Victory Jory is a lusty Henry, and as Borkman he is effectively embittered and somber. Mary Alice Moore is equally persuasive as brainless Lady Sybil Tenterden, in the Barrie play, and as Ibsen's very worldly Mrs. Wilton.

Other mentions, mostly laudable, are forbidden by our hebdomadal enemy—shortage of space.

*Henry* and *Every Woman* were directed by Margaret Webster, while Miss Le Gallienne performed that chore for *Borkman*. David Ffolkes designed the sets and costumes for *Henry* and costumes for *Every Woman*. Paul Morrison designed the costumes for *Every Woman* and sets for that play and *Borkman*. A rather involved arrangement, it seems, but the results are commendable. The productions are tastefully mounted without the least suggestion of either luxury or skimping.

ART is making its home in The International. The current program will continue in effect until mid-December, when one of the plays will be replaced by Shaw's *Androcles and the Lion*, with equal good taste and success, I trust and believe.

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

# Films

**UNDERCURRENT.** In this slightly turgid drama another Hollywood heroine suffers the consequences of a marriage made, not in Heaven, but in haste. The plain daughter of a college professor is swept into a romantic whirlpool by a darkly engaging business tycoon. Her suspicions about the man she married are aroused just in time for the rising plot complications but a little late for common sense; and unless the audience extends its usual easy tolerance, what is meant to be sinister will merely be silly. Her husband is dominated by hatred for his brother, described as a black sheep; but when the latter emerges as the wronged party, the tycoon attempts to murder the heroine and is trampled by a horse in, as they say, the nick of time. Vincente Minelli's direction lacks pace, and the most harrowing thing about the tragic ingredients is that the characters talk continually about them. The average patron's imagination will run far ahead of any surprise in the climax. Katharine Hepburn, Robert Taylor and Robert Mitchum are featured. *Adults* will find this an average, glossy bit of make-believe. (MGM)

**TWO SMART PEOPLE.** Sophisticated comedies are by custom privileged to make light of the laws of logic, so it is not surprising to find this one taking a

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frivolous attitude toward the law of the land. A smooth bond-thief offers to give himself up to a detective on condition that he be allowed a vacation jaunt across the country. While he and the detective are having their fling, romance rears its head in the person of a woman interested in art from an illegal point of view. The charming ravens find love a good enough reason for reform, and they look forward to living happily ever after their jail terms. Jules Dassin's direction is light but not particularly deft, and some use is made of Mardi Gras local color. Lucille Ball and John Hodiak do well by their thin material in an *adult* film of passing interest. (MGM)

**WIFE WANTED.** This is a minor film with a message and, as usual with self-righteous pictures, it sets itself to expose what has always been obvious. In this instance the business of mail-order marriages is shown up as a snare and a delusion. The theory behind this sort of commercial crusade is that while it may open nobody's eyes, it will certainly tread on nobody's toes. A fading screen star, dabbling in real estate, discovers that she has witlessly become involved in a Lonely Hearts racket. A reporter assigned to investigate the death of a client succumbs to romance and makes the break-up of the plot incidental to clearing the actress' name. Phil Karlson scatters his interest in the diffuse story. Kay Francis, Paul Cavanagh and Robert Shayne are competent in an *adult* film which is only fair entertainment. (Monogram)

**NEVER SAY GOODBYE.** The hapless child of divorce, who has the normal number of parents only on a part-time basis, is the key figure in this higher-budget comedy. That contradiction is a good index to Hollywood's attitude toward the whole problem of divorce. The charming couple love the child and one another, of course, but an impossible series of incidents is required to bring them together again. The simple notions of love and duty do not suggest enough amusing complications, so the plot falls back on the old standbys, jealousy and mistaken identity. James Kern directed, and Errol Flynn and Eleanor Parker are chiefly involved. The conclusion of the piece is moral in its fashion, but the suggestive dialog running through the action indicates the true level of its appeal. This is a *speckled* film. (Warner)

THOMAS J. FITZMORRIS

## Art

**GENIUS RARELY STRIKES TWICE** in the same place and the Hogarth, Constable, Turner showing at the Chicago Art Exhibition evidences the fact. Not that Hogarth comes within the genius classification. In place of his work, the inclusion of Blake's in this grouping would have better kept the paintings displayed in a more equalized category. For Hogarth's interest as a painter derives from the story he tells and, like all English literary-type art, this makes for heavy going in an artistic way. For Hogarth was not another Goya, and the great art of the Spaniard has no reflection in the painter of the *Rake's Progress*.

If genius in the production of easel paintings visited England only in the period that produced Blake, Constable and Turner, her beneficent ministrations bore ample fruit. Much that makes eventful artistic history resulted from the work of these three men. Curiously enough, and illustrative of the seemingly erratic visitations of the powers of genius, little of this influence was manifested in England. It reappeared in France, however, and contributed heavily to the artistic efflorescence which was to center around Paris for a century.

French art has rarely been of a basically innovating type and that country, in an artistic way, has been notable for what it has assimilated and developed out of profoundly original art of foreign nativity. The artistic background for French work in the later nineteenth century lay in that of these Englishmen, and in Goya and earlier Spaniards. This, at least, until the appearance of Cézanne, but he also is still one of their descendants, as are such lyrical abstractionists as the Russian, Kandinsky.

If Cézanne gave a new direction to easel painting by actualizing the basic angular pattern in pictorial composition, so that it revealed itself and became in truth the picture rather than the picture's concealed skeleton, Constable's integration of his brushwork into a determining element of his compositions was more profound. His contribution was involved with the media of oil painting itself in an almost architectural way, so that there is a clarification of the *structural element* of brushwork and of the part it plays in the breadth and symphonic character

of his compositions. Seurat, who attempted much the same thing but with obvious calculation and a more formalized manner, granting his charm and achieved style, seems thin in comparison.

While this exhibition, which is a loan from the English Government, has little charm in its staging, for that is rather commonplace, the Constable and Turner canvases themselves are splendid things, and occasionally of rare beauty as examples of a somewhat effete art. It must be something of a question whether the inclusion of earlier and less significant paintings by these artists helps the exhibition. However, there are sufficient works in the matured style, in each case, to make this a very important display which the Institute's director, Daniel Caton Rich, is to be congratulated upon having secured.

The smaller Constables are particularly delightful in their delicacy, vigor and breadth of painting. And in the best of Turner's work there is a breath-catching beauty of tonality and an achievement of pictorial form that is predicated on the limitations of the framed picture. The success that attended the acceptance of these limitations also gave the Frenchmen, and those of other nativity who grouped around the School of Paris, an artistic direction that contributed much towards their extensive production of a legitimate type of gallery art.

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*Voice of Cowper:* William Cowper speaking.

*Voice of Burns:* Can you tell who this is, Will?

*Cowper:* No, no, I fear I can't.

*Burns:* What! Should auld acquaintance be forgot, and never brought to



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mind? Should auld acquaintance be forgot, and days o' lang syne?

*Couper:* My word, it's Robert Burns. Most pleasant surprise. You must dine with me.

*Burns:* I shall be happy to do so, Will, if time allows. But I am anxious to return home. My heart's in the Highlands, my heart is not here; My heart's in the Highlands a-chasing the deer.

*Couper:* I can understand your viewpoint, Robert. After all, God made the country, man made the town.

*Burns:* And I'm lonesome for my wife. She is a winsome wee thing, she is a handsome wee thing, she is a bonny wee thing, this wee wife o'mine. She's like a red, red rose, that's newly sprung in June; she's like the melody that's sweetly played in tune.

*Couper:* How fortunate you are, Robert, since domestic happiness is the only bliss of Paradise that has survived the fall. How do you get on with the great lords?

*Burns:* The best laid schemes o'mice and men gang aft a-gley, Will. Indifferently. I fear. One lord is an idler. He is always resting when I call.

*Couper:* An idler is a watch that wants both hands, as useless if it goes as if it stands.

*Burns:* Another great man merrily mocks God's providence. An atheist's laugh's a poor exchange for Deity offended.

*Couper:* A fool mocks the all-Wise! God moves in a mysterious way His wonders to perform; He plants His footsteps in the sea and rides upon the storm. And because the finite fails to understand the infinite, the finite mocks. What folly!

*Burns:* Give me the lowly God-fearing man, Will.

*Couper:* I concur, Robert. At the, mocking lord, Satan does not tremble. But Satan really trembles when he sees the weakest saint upon his knees.

*Burns:* Princes and lords are but the breath of kings; an honest man's the noblest work of God.

*Couper:* And God alone can make man happy. Happiness depends, as Nature shows, less on exterior things than most suppose.

*Burns:* True, very true. Of course, Will, we all have faults. Oh wad some power the giftie gie us to see oursel's as others see us! It wad frae monie a blunder free us, and foolish notion. Goodbye, Will.

*Couper:* Goodbye, Robert. I hope to see you soon. JOHN A. TOOMEY

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# Correspondence

## Research at Fordham

EDITOR: In your issue of November 2, there was an interesting bit of publicity for Notre Dame on the subject of scientific research. Passing over the fact that most institutions prefer fundamental to commercial research, it pointed out that in the list published by the National Research Council only three Catholic universities were mentioned—Notre Dame, Georgetown and Santa Clara—the last two for very trifling sums.

It stated, as a safe assumption, that the reason why no others were listed was that they were "unable to deliver the goods." As the friends of St. Louis, Marquette, Catholic University and other similar institutions may have been pained and surprised at the implied rating given to their great universities by an article in *AMERICA*, we should like to list the variety of subsidized research being done at Fordham, confident that more impressive lists could be drawn up by others who were included in the group condemnation.

For many years Fordham has been receiving research grants for commercial as well as the more important fundamental research carried on in its departments of Chemistry, Physics, Biology, Psychology, Economics and, this year, for a special project in Archeology.

At the present moment, the Chemistry Department has grants from the U. S. Navy (\$15,000), The Rockefeller Foundation (\$7,500), The Nutrition Foundation (\$2,500), The Greater New York Industries (\$3,000), The American Lecithin Company (\$1,000), The American Medical Association (\$600), The National Academy of Sciences, Bache Fund (\$500), Ryan Products Co. (\$600), The Markle Foundation (\$1,600) and The American Philosophical Society (\$1,500). The Physics Department, for the fifth year, has a grant from the American Philosophical Society for studies in mesotron disintegration and acknowledges substantial assistance from the Department of Terrestrial Magnetism of the Carnegie Foundation. In addition, the Government of Santo Domingo has been leaning heavily on the same Department

for the solution of seismological problems. The Biology Department has just received a grant for the fifth year from the American Philosophical Society for research in Cytology. The Department of Psychology, for the fifth year, has received a grant from The Greater New York Fund. The Department of Economics has concluded a project for which a prominent industrialist gave \$20,000, and is working now on a smaller problem for which \$2,600 has been advanced. The Viking Fund has just made a grant of \$5,000 for excavations at Ksâr 'Akil in Lebanon.

This list could be more impressive. There have been years, as happened during the last war, when the Chemistry Department had two contracts for defense assignments. Just now we are doing our best to give more than 10,000 students every advantage we can offer, and that means curtailing some research to increase our teaching loads. But it is impressive enough to point out how cautious we should be in drawing general conclusions from a particular and incomplete list. And may we suggest that the interests of Catholic education are best served, not by weakening the confidence of Catholic parents in our colleges and universities, but by pointing to the immense progress we are making and the tremendous financial handicap under which most of us have to work.

Fordham University  
Department of Chemistry  
DOUGLAS J. HENNESSY

## Mercy-Killing Clergy

EDITOR: Let me compliment you upon the publication of the weekly review *AMERICA*. Maybe you will be surprised to hear that I did not know it before, but you will understand when you know that I am from Panama City, and just arrived in the States a month ago. Being a student of the College of Saint Teresa, I had occasion to contact your magazine.

Upon reading the article, "Mercy-killing Clergy," in a recent issue (October 12, 1946) I wish to tell you that I agree with your suggestion with regard to the purpose of the Euthanasia Society of America. God is the only owner of our lives, and nobody, not

even the physician, should cause the death of an innocent person.

Once again I want to express to you my sincere congratulations for such a wonderful magazine. I really hope we will have one like that in the country from which I come, Panama, some day.

Winona, Min.

CARMEN A. FERNANDEZ

## Toys for mission schools

EDITOR: I intend to send several cases of toys to our mission schools at Christmas time.

Would you like to send us a doll, a game or a mechanical toy which will help to bring joy into the hearts of our Indian children on Christmas day? If so, will you be good enough to send it to my office, at the above address, on or before December tenth? The address is 105 East 22nd St.

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FATHER CULLEN  
Director General,  
Marquette League

## Help for "Caritas"

EDITOR: A friend of mine, Monsignor Book, residing in the English zone of Germany, has sent a heart-rending letter begging for immediate help. He is the director of "Caritas" in Borken, Westfalen, and my wife's sister is the assistant director.

Theirs is a Catholic charity organization with empty larders, because the people have lost almost everything. Borken was in the path of the English advance and was mercilessly bombed. There are also many Catholic refugees who are afraid to go back to their original homes which are now in the zone occupied by Russia.

A parade of hungry people is besieging Monsignor Book for help, and the good Father is unable to do anything. Their needs range from baby-socks to a grandfather's skull cap. The need for food is equally urgent. My wife and I have sent already quite a few 11-lb. parcels through the U. S. postal service, and we have also sent parcels through "Care." As a matter of fact we have given 'way beyond our capacity.

I am sure that Monsignor Book will be very grateful for everything sent to his address, which is as follows: Herrn Canonicus Book, Caritas Direktor, Borken, Westfalen, Heidener Strasse, Germany, English Zone.

Evanston, Ill. LUDWIG GREIN

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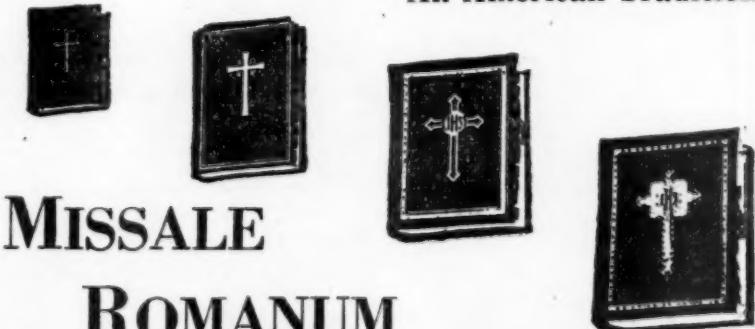
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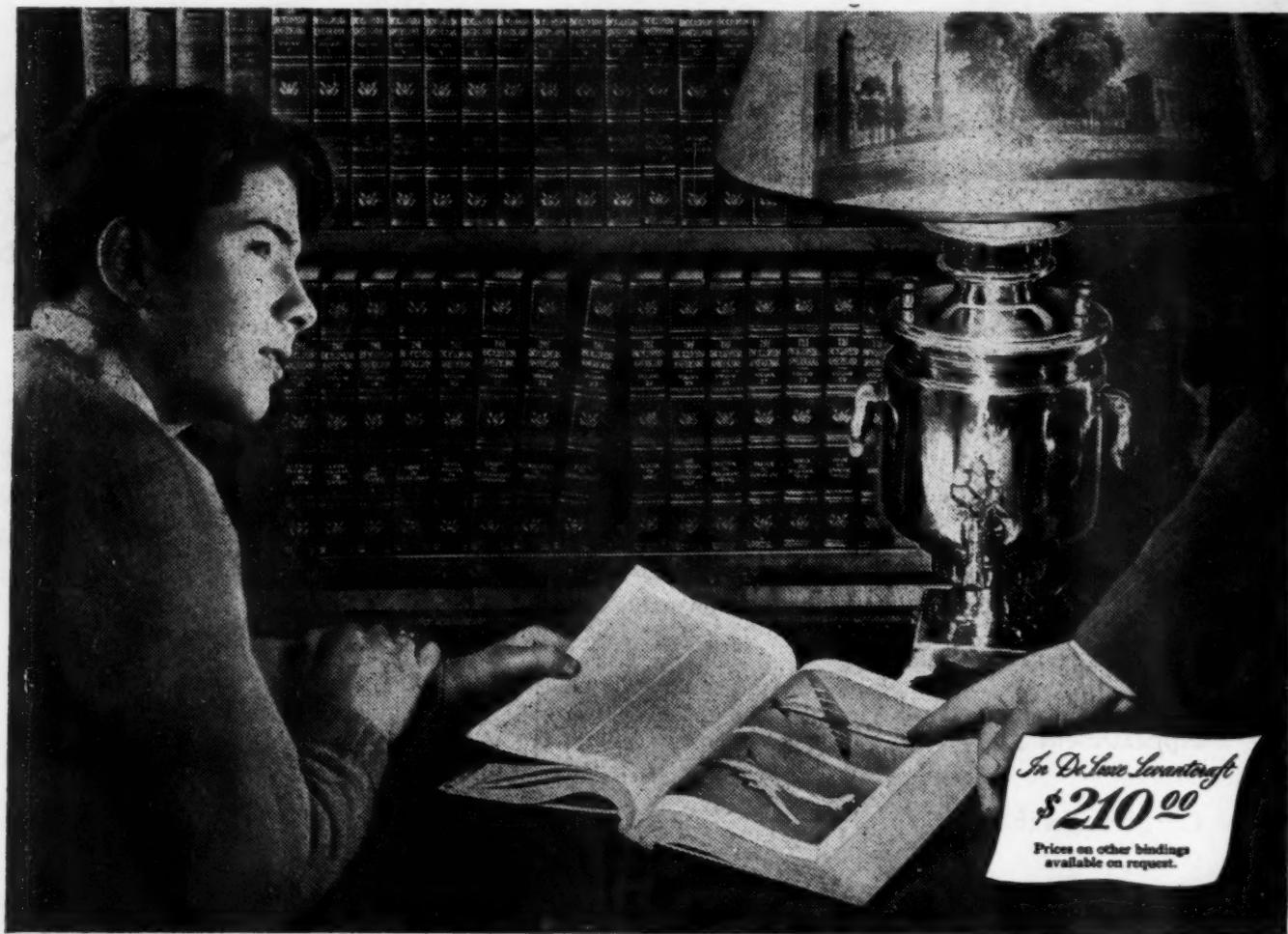
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